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CONTENTS

J. K. PAULDING'S SKETCH OF THE GREAT LAKES	<i>Mentor L. Williams</i> 67
THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY VERSUS SIR CHARLES NAPIER	<i>Arvel B. Erickson</i> 80
THE THEATRE IN EARLY KANSAS CITY	<i>Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs</i> 89
MORALES WRITES A LETTER TO MELGAREJO	<i>Harvey L. Johnson</i> 104
BOOK REVIEWS	112
NOTES AND COMMENTS	124

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J. K. Paulding's Sketch of the Great Lakes

In July 1842 a pair of American notables booked passage from Chicago to Buffalo on the famous lake steamer, *Great Western*. Martin Van Buren and James Kirke Paulding, respectively ex-President and ex-Secretary of Navy of the United States, were completing a five month's journey that had taken them through the entire South from Virginia to New Orleans, up the Mississippi to Memphis, across Tennessee to Nashville where they had visited their political master, Jackson, at The Hermitage, through Kentucky to Ashland, the manorial home of Henry Clay. Van Buren went on triumphantly into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but Paulding, tired of political celebrations, had gone down the Ohio to Cairo, up the Mississippi to St. Louis and the Illinois river, up the Illinois to Ottawa and overland to Chicago where he rejoined Van Buren's party.¹

The purpose of the junket had been political. Van Buren was seeking support for the political contest of 1844. Tyler's bank and land policies were alienating southern and western Democrats, and the time looked right for winning delegates to the next national Democratic convention. Paulding, long a friend and more recently a rural neighbor of Van Buren, had probably been asked to go along because of his acceptability to the slave-owning South and his antagonism to rampant schemes for internal improvement. The ex-Secretary of Navy was a middle-of-the-road Democrat, a "Northern man with Southern sympathies."

¹ Paulding described the Mississippi leg of his tour in "The Mississippi," *Graham's Magazine* (April 1843), and the Illinois portion in "The Illinois and the Prairies," *Graham's Magazine* (January 1849). For these see the present writer's "James Kirk Paulding on the Mississippi, 1842," in *Journal of Mississippi History*, October, 1948, and "A Tour of Illinois in 1842," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, September, 1949.

Narratives of travel, particularly in the West, were extraordinarily popular in those boom days of western development. It was only natural that a man, especially a politician whose chief interest was literature rather than politics, should turn his travels to his literary account. Paulding wrote his impressions of the Great Lakes for the newly-founded *Columbian Ladies and Gentlemen's Magazine*, a publication which was soon featuring his name as a special attraction for its readers.² As everyone wanted to know about the physical characteristics of the great West, Paulding obliged with comments on the elevation, the area, the tides, and the storms of the Lakes. Unlike other reporters, however, he seldom remarked on the absence of harbors or lighthouses, the difficulty of navigating sandy narrows or mudflats, and the loss of life and property from needless wrecks. In that respect he was carefully following the Democratic party line: avoid the issue of internal improvements.

On the other hand, Paulding did make ironic sallies against the mania for speculation and bitterly denounced the depressing result of that mania, the financial debacle of 1837-1842 in the western states. He decried the lack of energy displayed by the natives of the region and praised the thrift and industry of the German migrants. He poked fun at the desire of westerners to raze all vestiges of antiquity (the civilization of the French), and was mildly amused at the ambition of every lake city to be a "great emporium in time."

For those who cultivate the myth that the Canadian-American border was always a "peaceful boundary," Paulding's one-hundred-and-fifty per centum Americanism will prove something of a shock. His emphasis on the fortifications along that border must be read in the light of the British-American controversies of the forties. The geological and linear surveyors of the Lake Superior area (1840-1845), William A. Burt in particular, were constantly on the alert for points of military significance. Saber rattling was common in and out of the halls of Congress and the Maine and Oregon disputes were in the offing. One of the more potent arguments (and the only one accepted by most Democrats) for river and lake improvements during this period was "national defense." Only four years after Paulding wrote this sketch, Horace Greeley (a Whig) was decrying Polk's expenditures for a huge fortress on the Detroit river and the needless garrison at Sault Ste. Marie.³

Still another aspect of Paulding's nationalism is his pride in the

² "Sketch of the Great Western Lakes," Vol. I. (1843) 258-266.

³ See "Horace Greeley Tours the Great Lakes", *Inland Seas*, July, 1947.

military achievements of American heroes, his pathetic scorn for the defeats of the "superannuated veterans," and his indignation at the desecration of the Brock monument at Lewiston. Of a piece with this attitude is his futile wish that the Horse Shoe Falls were completely within the American boundary! It must be remembered that Paulding's was the most vigorous pen exerted in the "war of the reviewers" or the "paper war" between America and England, 1815-1855. The writer of *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*, *A Sketch of Old England by a New England Man*, and *John Bull in America* would necessarily look with chagrin upon anything about which the British could boast.

* * * *

Sketch of the Great Western Lakes*

To those who have been in the habit of contemplating the ocean, Lake Michigan presents nothing new to the eye; yet it excites new feelings and awakens new impressions in the mind. It is indeed only a sea of fresh water; the color, the waves and all the phenomena, except the sparkling of the waves at night, are the same. Yet the great chain, of which Michigan is one of the links, will ever be considered as among the most remarkable productions of nature. These lakes constitute by far the greatest body of fresh water in the known world; a portion of which is, I think, derived from the earth they cover, since it seems evident that the supply from the rivers and the clouds is insufficient to keep these vast reservoirs forever replenished, although the waters here collected are drawn from a region computed at half a million of square miles. Their surface is several hundred feet above that of the ocean, their bottoms, in some places, it is believed, somewhat below; and they are computed to contain at least one half the fresh water on the face of the globe. These sublime characteristics, when all at once realized by the evidence of the senses, render a first view of Lake Michigan extremely impressing.

The color of the water is, I think, not quite so deep in tint as that of the ocean, and the sands of the shores are not so brilliantly white, though equally free from dirt, and there are very few shells mixed with them. The pebbles, though worn smooth, are not generally round, like those on the sea shore, and the descent from the foot of the bank on which Chicago stands, whose elevation is not, I should judge, more than ten or twelve feet above the surface of the lake, is very gradual. When the winds are high the waves are twin brothers to those of the Atlantic, and as you look out on the wide expanse you see nothing beyond but the sky. The shores are generally low and level; very few landmarks can be distinguished at a dis-

* Except for some omitted passages, described in the footnotes, the article is reprinted as written in *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, I, June, 1844, 258-266. Spelling, grammar and punctuation have not been modified.

tance, and no mountains appear in perspective. The surface of Lake Michigan is much higher than the Mississippi, and there is nothing but a vast inclined plane between them. An overflow of the lake in that direction would deluge all the country to the shores of the ocean. In approaching Chicago, between that place and Juliet,⁴ there are some curious indications of having once been an outlet from the southern extremity of the lake. The channel of a river, perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, with what are called the first and second banks, is clearly defined; and though the grass and flowers grow there now, it is difficult to resist the impression that "once upon a time," as the story books say, a broad, deep river here coursed its way from Lake Michigan toward father Mississippi.⁵

There is, and always has been, an impression among those long residing on the lakes, that they are influenced by regular tides, the effects of which become apparent every seven, eight or nine years. That they are sometimes higher than at others I believe is certain; but whether these vicissitudes are periodical, and consequently produced by influences always in operation, or whether merely accidental, is yet to be decided.⁶ The theory of tides is a mystery, and 'but for the moon, which is a universal panacea for the broken shins of philosophy, it would be as inscrutable as future time. "There are more things in heaven and earth than are found in your philosophy," ye learned Thebans, and nothing can be more presumptuous than to withhold our belief in the evidence of the senses, merely because the narrow, circumscribed intellect of man is insufficient for its comprehension. He who can compass the being, the attributes and the providence of the Creator of all things, and he alone, is authorized to reject the evidences of his senses, because he cannot comprehend the causes which produced the phenomenon.

Whether or not, however, the tide regularly rises and falls in the lakes, once in seven or any fixed number of years, it is to be hoped it will always stop short in time, since a rise of some twelve or fourteen feet above its present level would precipitate Lake Michigan, not only on the good town of Chicago, but the entire country for hundreds of miles. There are distinct and undeniable evidences of its having been once under water, and what has happened may occur again. But I don't wish to frighten my fellow citizens, more especially just now, when they have so many alarms on their hands. What with the tariff, annexation, repudiation and prophet Miller's prediction,⁷ people not of iron nerves can hardly sleep quietly in their beds at night. But it is an ill wind that blows nobody good; and those who apprehend the overflowing of the lakes will receive great consolation from a belief in the prophecy.

⁴ The common term in the forties for Joliet, Illinois. Paulding, Van Buren, and others urged the adoption of the present name in honor of the French explorer, Louis Jolliet.

⁵ The geology of the Great Lakes was the subject of much speculation at this time. Paulding's observation was correct, of course.

⁶ Many learned papers were written about the "tides" of the Lakes. See particularly, W. W. Mather's "The Meteorology of Lake Superior and the Causes of the Sudden and Gradual Changes of the level of the Waters of the Lakes," 1847.

⁷ Joseph Miller predicted the end of the world much to the consternation of thousands of weak-witted folk.

After luxuriating in the fine summer weather, from the beginning of March, in the South, I encountered autumn in July at Chicago. Luckily, however, while there, I received my cloak, which had been left behind at St. Louis, whence it had traveled by itself a distance of some five or six hundred miles. Who shall say we are not an honest people, notwithstanding bankrupt laws, stop laws and repudiation?⁸ I embarked in the Great Western of the lakes,⁹ one of the most splendid steam vessels I have ever seen, commanded by Captain Walker, whom, in acknowledgment of his kind attentions, I recommend to all voyagers on the great lakes. It was evening when we got under way, and night coming on almost immediately, I saw no more until next morning, when we came to at Milwaukie, a very pleasantly situated and thriving town, which only wants a good harbor to become a place of considerable note, in time. But in this country nobody waits for time; the old gentleman is too short-winded to keep pace with the "Go aheads," who mount fortune's wheel and set it whizzing round at such a prodigious rate that they grow dizzy, tumble off and are swallowed up in the mill race.

Leaving Milwaukie, which, like Corporal Trim's unfortunate King of Bohemia,¹⁰ only wants a harbor, we again launched forth on the broad, transparent bosom of the lake, and about mid-day were out of sight of land. Thus we continued till the evening came on, and early next morning entered the strait of Michilimackinac, whose formidable name has been most softened into Mackina.¹¹ This place is not only celebrated for its natural beauties, which are certainly very great, but is interesting for its historical associations. It was the central point of the French trade with Indians till M. La Motte Cadillac, by his personal influence with the savages, drew a great portion of it to Detroit. But it has never risen to be more than an inconsiderable village, and seems not to have been much operated upon by that magic influence observed almost everywhere else in places transferred from other powers to the United States. One hundred and twenty-two years ago, when visited by Father Charlevoix, it was still a great mart for peltry, although as early as that period it had begun rapidly to decline. In 1770, having been several years before surrendered to the crown of England with the rest of the French possessions in North America, it was still a rendezvous for Indian traders and had a fort and garrison for its defence. It was surprised and taken by one of the best planned and conducted stratagems to be found in the records or traditions of Indian warfare, and the garrison massacred . . .¹²

The island of Mackina is an important military and commercial position, but does not seem to partake of that growing quality for which our young towns are for the most part so remarkable. There are few houses

⁸ Investors in the east commonly denounced such actions as deliberately dishonest tricks to get out of paying debts.

⁹ Margaret Fuller traveled from Chicago to Mackinac in the same boat the following year, 1843.

¹⁰ Corporal Trim was Uncle Toby's sidekick in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

¹¹ Philip Hone, covering the same area in 1847, complained that the euphony of the old name had been destroyed by the change.

¹² A long passage from Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (1809) describing the massacre is omitted.

which appear to have been recently built, and fewer still building. Some of the old French habitations still remain, throwing an air of antiquity over the place; and a number of Indian huts were scattered on the beach, among which were seen a few straggling Indians, men, women and papooses.¹³ There was one ship and some fifteen or twenty vessels of different kinds, principally lake schooners, at anchor in the strait, giving the scene an air of commerce; but it is now a mere stopping place, and I believe it has not yet entered into the head of any sanguine pupil of anticipation to speculate in city lots at Mackina. Yet it is a spot of most especial beauty, rising from the bosom of the most transparent water in the world to a height which overlooks all the land and the lakes, to the utmost extent of the reach of the eye; clothed with fresh, green grass, crowned with stately trees and exhibiting in its aspect and outline as much of grace and beauty as I have anywhere seen comprised in a single view. There is here a fort of considerable pretensions, but it is commanded by a hill within cannon shot in the rear, which is not fortified.

It would be mere repetition to tell you of the fine fishing at Mackina, and more especially at the Sault St. Marie, above. These fisheries, particularly the latter, are becoming of consequence, and before many years will be still more important, unless the white fish are frightened away by digging a canal, or making a dam, or some other astonishing improvement that, according to custom, may cost more than it will come to.¹⁴ There is no portion of animated nature more timid, suspicious, and often apparently capricious, than a fish. He is attracted or repulsed by slight and almost imperceptible causes, operating at vast distances and changing the course of his emigrations from one quarter of the world to another. His haunts should never be tampered with, unless the object to be attained is of great and paramount importance. As much, and frequently more, is lost than gained by damming up the course of rivers; and very often the erection of a mill is the forerunner of the loss of a fishery of a thousand times more value to an extensive region of surrounding country. I question whether the advantages of all the locks and dams on the Connecticut river repay the people of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont for the loss of the salmon and shad which formerly frequented that river in such quantities.¹⁵ There is a mighty and tempting water power at Sault St. Marie, but fortunately they can't dam up the strait of Mackina or make mill ponds of the lakes . . .¹⁶

In passing from this place to the entrance of the River St. Clair, through Lake Huron, in a steam boat, and indeed in navigating all the lakes, we see little of the country and almost as little on the water, to attract attention. The boat keeps a wide berth, as the sailors say; the shores are either out of sight or present only a low, level line, scarcely distinguished by any

¹³ See Margaret Fuller's *A Summer on the Lakes* (1844) for more detailed descriptions of the Indian village in 1843.

¹⁴ Michigan's plans for a state financed canal were well under way at the time.

¹⁵ An interesting commentary that deserves credit for its recognition of the problem of conserving fisheries.

¹⁶ A short quotation on fishing, from La Hontan's *New Voyages to North America*, has been omitted here.

perceptible elevation. I saw very few vessels on these inland seas, except in Lake Ontario; and upon the whole, there is all, and more than all, the monotony of the ocean in a voyage on the lakes, with the single exception that landings are rather more frequent.¹⁷ When it is calm, or in a light breeze, the sailing is very pleasant; but with a fresh wind the swell becomes mighty troublesome, and in a gale the navigation is not only extremely disagreeable, but dangerous, there being very few harbors in which to seek shelter.¹⁸ This is more especially the case on Lake Erie, which, being somewhat more shallow than the others, throws up a testy, peevish wave, different from the swelling, rolling mountains of the fathomless ocean.

At the River St. Clair the possessions of the United States and Great Britain shake hands with each other, that is to say, they approach so near that forts are erected on either hand, to signalize their good neighborhood and exchange civilities when occasion requires. There are small towns, houses and plantations, along this charming little river, and a great city in perspective, just at its mouth, the name of which I have forgotten. As the strait expands into Lake St. Clair it becomes so shallow that our vessel turned up the sand in great quantities for a distance of some miles.¹⁹ Immense meadows are seen skirting it on either side, and the entire combination presents as soft and gentle a scene as ever was exhibited in fairy land. The lake, as usual, afforded little variety of prospect until we approached Detroit, where commences another succession of very beautiful scenery. Here, as at Mackina, we again come among the antiquities of this new world and detect many of the features of an old-settled country. Here, too, those excellent and agreeable cousins, John Bull and Brother Jonathan, live so near that they can see into each other's eyes and discuss matters at the mouth of the cannon, after trying what can be done by talking of "a common origin," "identity of language," "kindred habits and manners," "mother and daughter" and "all that sort of thing."

Heretofore, whenever the American and British possessions came in juxtaposition, I had always found a decided superiority in the former, in all the indications of increasing growth and prosperity. At Detroit this is not the case however. With the exception of the city, which has completely distanced the little town on the opposite shore, the British side appeared to be more populous and better cultivated, along the whole strait, from the city down to Lake Erie. Much of the American side, below Detroit, is low, apparently swampy, and in a state of nature; while the other has all the aspect of long cultivation. The bank, with occasional exceptions, is higher and skirted with a number of respectable, old fashioned houses, that strongly contrast with the gay and sometimes rather fantastic cottages on the opposite shore, in the vicinity of the city, which is finely situated, exhibits striking indications of active business, and, to use a favorite phrase of our sanguine speculators, "*must* be a great emporium in time." Here are some vestiges of the ancient French occupation; but, with the exception of the Catholic churches, nothing old can long withstand the desperate hos-

¹⁷ Paulding's knowledge of the ocean was largely second hand. Though Secretary of Navy, he had never made an Atlantic crossing.

¹⁸ However much he tried to play down the internal improvement issue, Paulding could not altogether avoid stating obvious facts.

¹⁹ Other travelers, observing this shallowness, cried to high heaven for a well-dredged channel—at government expense.

tility of our people to greybeard antiquity. They tolerate nothing old, but wine and tobacco, and are exactly the antipodes to the famous antiquary who disinherited a profligate son for promising to "turn over a *new* leaf," and despised America because it was called the new world.²⁰ At New Orleans I recollect once noticing a tall, thin, bilious looking person, with a face shriveled apparently by insatiable money-making cares, who was eyeing the venerable old cathedral with a peculiar expression of hostility, and, as I had little doubt, calculating the number of lots which might be carved out of the church yard, in the way of a glorious speculation.

Near the mouth of the strait, as you enter Lake Erie, is the little town and fortress of Malden, famous, or rather infamous, in the annals of the late war.²¹ It is situated along an extensive level bank, elevated some thirty or forty feet above the water; and the place is not otherwise strong, except from the weakness of an assailing enemy. There is a little island opposite, which figures in the late treaty with Great Britain,²² and which, in conjunction with the fort on the main land, completely commands the narrow channel on the British side. There is, as I learned from Captain Walker, another channel on the American side, affording sufficient water for vessels drawing upward of twenty feet. It is far more intricate than the other, and I neglected to inquire whether it brought vessels within imminent distance of the guns of the island, on which, however, I discovered no fortifications in passing.

Throughout the whole extent of these great lakes there are, I think, but four or five points of immediate proximity between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain, to wit, the Sault St. Marie, Detroit, the River St. Clair and the Niagara frontier. The third and the last have already been illustrated by the effusion of blood; and it is there that, in all human probability, future times may exhibit many a bitter struggle, many displays of lofty heroism and many a spectacle over which humanity weeps, while patriotism triumphs.²³

Our voyage on Lake Erie was cold, wintry and cheerless; the ladies and the land lubbers all got sick, of that intolerable disease which excites no sympathy and admits of only one cure, namely, a contact with mother earth. We halted about an hour at Cleveland, in Ohio, which is a very pretty, very busy and apparently a very flourishing town, with a number of "suspicious" looking mansions on the superb terrace which rises from the lake beach. I say suspicious, for during the whole course of a long journey of seven thousand miles I seldom noticed a house especially distinguished for its portico and lofty pillars, its tower, its costly and inappropriate embellishments, without finding, on inquiry, that the original builder had gone the way of all flesh, or, at all events, was a tenant at mercy to some bank, or, according to philanthropic phrase, "in the iron grasp of an unfeeling, inexorable Shylock creditor"—in other words, some honest man who was

²⁰ A reference to a character in one of his own plays, *The Bucktails*.

²¹ Malden, now Amherstberg, was the base of operations both for the British "Erie fleet", defeated by Perry in 1813, and the force that wiped out the Kentuckians at Raisin River.

²² The Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842) gave Crosse Isle to the United States and Fighting Island to Canada.

²³ Alarums and rumors of war were rife in the bellicose decades, 1820-1850.

rather impatient at seeing his debtor living in a palace, and spending the thousands belonging to other people. It were, I think, much to be wished that some one would take up the cudgel in behalf of unfortunate creditors, who generally press for their dues because they cannot pay their debts without them, and who now-a-days not only lose their money, but their reputation into the bargain.

At Cleveland is the entrance or outlet to the great canal connecting the lakes with the Ohio river;²⁴ and here I saw hundreds of emigrants, principally German, on their way to the interior of the young giant State. Here was one complete community, comprising all the necessary trades, handicrafts and professions—a parson and a doctor. I could not learn whether they had brought a lawyer with them, but at all events, they will find plenty where they are going. They occupied two or three boats, the windows of which were blithe with merry faces glowing with health and happy anticipations; which I hoped and trusted, and indeed was convinced, would be realized, for they were sober, moral, industrious, prudent folks; and in what part of our country cannot such people realize comfort and independence? There is a mole at Cleveland, forming the harbor, with a lighthouse on the outward end. The great defect in the navigation of the lakes is the want of havens, either for commerce or security. The bays are for the most part open and exposed, and often shallow withal. The rivers have always a bar, where their currents meet the pressure of the lakes; there are few if any islands, under which vessels can take shelter, and hence the tempests are sometimes very destructive. Yet notwithstanding all this, these mighty fresh water oceans will, within a century, if God prospers the republic, be ploughed by almost as many keels as the Euxine or Mediterranean. Cleveland "*must*" then be a considerable city, and there is no use in contesting the matter.

We did not stop at Erie, or if so, it was in the middle of the night, and I missed seeing the scene of the exploit of the gallant young Perry. The name however recalled to my mind the smiling face and mild, yet spirited blue eye of that brave, estimable youth; and the time is coming, if it has not already come, when no citizen of the United States, unless he has the head of a cabbage and a heart of sponge, will ever pass by Put-in-Bay without casting a thought on the achievement there, as well as him who accomplished it, even as the Indian casts a stone on the mound which marks the grave of some distinguished chief.

The noble steamship, the Great Western of the lakes, arrived at Buffalo the sixth day after leaving Chicago, at the dawn of the morning. The approach to this city is very fine, and the views from it, along the lake, and down Niagara river, are full of all sorts of beauty. The growth of Buffalo is somewhat of a phenomenon, even in this country. But the same shocks which affrighted the land from its centre to its extremities have been felt in their utmost severity here.²⁵ They have not however produced death—only a temporary suspension of vitality. The country will spring up as suddenly as she fell, if the doctors don't take advantage of her being down,

²⁴ The Ohio Canal, Cleveland to Portsmouth on the Ohio, completed in 1833.

²⁵ The collapse following the inflation-boom era of state financed improvements.

and physic her to death. There are doubtless many towns and cities that effervesced from the fermentation of the times, of which the previous existence will ere long be extremely questionable. But Buffalo is not one of these. Its position insures its future prosperity, if the worthy and hospitable inhabitants will only condescend to become wise by experience, and wait till the child can walk before they dress him in breeches. Though no doctor, I will offer them a prescription, which I pledge my word will not fail to set every man on his legs again, provided he does not do like beggars on horseback, to wit, ride to a place, which, not being found on any of the maps, is, in the estimation of certain great philosophers, of questionable existence. But to my prescription. Take five drachms of patience; six of prudence; ten of economy, and twenty-four of genuine persevering industry; mix these with an indefinite number of scruples of conscience against running in debt as fast as the rapids of Niagara; put all these ingredients in a vessel either of gold or silver—none else will do—and simmer them over a slow fire made of broken bank notes, until the ingredients become thoroughly amalgamated, and the notes are all consumed to ashes. This recipe has never failed; and if necessary thousands of certificates could be obtained from persons who have been radically cured by using it the proper time. It operates slowly, but the effect is always sure. *Mem.*—the more you take, the better.

The ride from Buffalo to the Falls is extremely agreeable, being frequently in sight of Niagara river, which at the outlet of Lake Erie runs with a strong current, but afterward subsides into a gentle stream, sometimes expanding into a lake, at others contracting into a narrow compass, with occasionally an island anchored on its bosom. There is nothing to indicate the approach to that famous cataract, justly denominated one of the wonders of the world. The road is perfectly level. All is soft, gentle, serene and quiet; for the roar of its tremendous plunge, which it is said may sometimes be heard at a distance of twenty miles, can hardly, in general, be distinguished at the Eagle tavern, where I stayed, even in the silence of night.

Niagara has so often been celebrated, both in poetry and in prose, that I shall not attempt what is unattainable by language, by painting, or by all the combined efforts of art. There is no standard in nature with which to compare it; and all the superlatives of language communicate nothing to the mind but shadows without substance, dimensions or outline. Yet the first and most general impression is that of disappointment; and those who go away, as a large portion of the visitors do, after only a single superficial view, would, if they dared, blaspheme this great work of the Creator. Like everything consummate in nature or in art, it must be contemplated, studied, in order to develop its perfections. The eye must become more familiar with its individual features and their combinations; the mind accustomed to compass the sublime array of vast and magnificent materials spread out before it; and the nerves disciplined, to stand on the verge of precipice overlooking the whirl of the impetuous torrent, before we can properly enjoy this unparalleled scene.

I remained here nearly a week, during which I every day visited some new points of view, and detected new combinations of infinite variety. There is no sameness here, for every step either opens or shuts out some

prominent object. This familiar and daily intercourse, far from verifying the old proverb, instead of breeding contempt or indifference, enabled me the better to realize that singular combination of sublimity and beauty by which Niagara is distinguished beyond any other scene I have ever beheld or imagined. After a few visits, the irritation of the nerves subsides into an intense yet pleasing excitement; terror gives place to admiration; we approach the verge of the precipice without apprehension, and begin to love what before we feared. I am somewhat too far advanced in the journey of life to be guided by the finger-post of hope, but can still enjoy the pleasures of memory, and the recollection of Niagara will constitute one of the jewels of the casket. Might I advise, I would recommend all visitors who are blessed with a wholesome relish for the stupendous works of nature, to remain here some days, and every morning and evening take a walk round what in other times was called Goat, but is now more descriptively and poetically christened Iris Island, for it is often decorated with rainbows.²⁶ It is the most magnificent promenade in the world, and affords the greatest variety. On two of its sides it is fretted and scoured by those tremendous rapids which rival the cataract itself in grandeur and sublimity; at the upper end, all is calm repose; the waters sleep against the green sward by which they are bounded; just at the center there is no perceptible current whatever; and all above is as smooth as a lake embosomed among mountains. But a few steps either way brings you within full view of the rapids, plunging over ledges of rocks, throwing up jets of snow-white foam, and dashing on with a mad impetuosity, and indescribable vehemence and desperation, toward the last great plunge into the bottomless abyss below. These hurry you along, until all at once you come to the consummation of sublimity in a full view of the Horse Shoe fall. The lower part of the island is I believe alone frequented, for in all my walks I recollect to have met no one, but a most respectable and somewhat ancient Quaker and his wife, who once or twice a day made this sublime and beautiful tour; although there were hundreds of sentimental fashionables at the hotel. When they had finished, the good dame would seat herself in the ruinous shed, which commands a fine view of the fall, take out her knitting, and remain for hours with her eyes fixed on the scenery, and her hands employed in the mysteries of the craft. Meanwhile, the good man—for goodness was stamped in his face—would stroll about in the vicinity, and if he caught any new object or point of view, come for his mate, and invite her to share the banquet. It was pleasant to see them, for although past the age of romance, it was evident they still retained a gentle relish for the charms of nature, and that one of them at least had learned the art of associating useful employment with agreeable recreation; an art than which none is more conducive to human happiness. I parted from Niagara with regret, for it improved every day on farther acquaintance. Independently of the attractions of the falls, it is a pleasant village; the site dry and healthy; the air temperate and pure; and everything acceptable, except the ever to be abhorred limestone water, the tormentor of stomachs and inveterate foe of tetotalism.

²⁶ A misguided attempt to "romanticize" the unromantic name "Goat Island" did not succeed. Margaret Fuller was content with the term, Goat Island, in 1843.

It is not known who was the first white man that saw these falls. The French who first penetrated this region were more accustomed to wield the sword than the pen, and thought more of beavers than books. The Chevalier Tonti notices them incidentally, and estimates their height at six hundred feet. La Hontan, who visited them in 1687, despatches the subject in few words...²⁷ A much more particular and accurate description is given by Father Hennepin, from which it is evident that time has produced little alteration within the last century and a half; although it is the general, and I think well founded opinion, that the cataract was originally at Lewiston, where there is an abrupt descent into the basin of Lake Ontario. If this impression be correct, the change could not, I imagine, have been produced by the mere action of the waters on the surface of the rocks, since they soon become covered with a slimy substance, over which the swift current glides without any friction whatever.²⁸ The process must have been that of undermining, and thus causing the superincumbent rocks to fall, for want of due support below. This is exemplified by the fall on the American side, whose apparent height is greatly diminished by masses of rock which have tumbled from above, and are piled up beneath.

Niagara and its neighborhood have other points of interest besides the noble scenery. At Lundy's Lane, at Chippeway and at Fort Erie, were fought battles as bravely contested as any of modern times. It was there that our countrymen wiped away the disgrace of Malden; that self-taught generals retrieved what had been lost by superannuated veterans; and that our countrymen proved themselves worthy descendants of their revolutionary fathers.²⁹ Yet while contemplating these scenes with honest pride, I could not keep [from] asking myself the end of all this bloodshed. There seemed nothing here worth fighting for, except the Horse Shoe fall, which is incomparably the finest of the group, and which I cannot help wishing completely within the limits of the United States, in order that we might boast of the sole possession of one of the wonders of the world. Then, when the Italian spouted of his St. Peters, "his Raphaels, Corregios and stuff," the Turk of his Stamboul; and the Englishman of his tunnel, we might silence all their prating by challenging them to produce such a *chef d'oeuvre* as the Horse Shoe fall.

The ride to Lewiston is full of sublimity and beauty. It affords frequent peeps into the chasm through which the fretted waters rush away, to find peace and repose in the quiet bosom of Ontario; as well as occasional views of the distant cataract, one of which I thought the finest of all, and which I visited more than once. It is a few miles on the road to Lewiston, and may be known by a spring of mineral water, covered with a neat little building.

There is also the great whirlpool, a worthy associate of the falls and rapids above; and "The Devil's Hole," a place which makes one shudder

²⁷ A short paragraph on the Falls from La Hontan is omitted.

²⁸ A heated controversy was in progress at this time over the natural versus the catastrophic origin of Niagara Falls.

²⁹ John Q. Adams visited the same spots in 1843, and, in a speech at Buffalo, asked that "this state of temper (peace) may be perpetuated, and that the hand of war and garments rolled in blood may never again be exhibited."

to look down upon, and whose natural horrors are heightened by a tradition of Indian massacre.³⁰ To sum up all, on one hand is a rich, quiet scene of cultivated fields interspersed with woods and green meadows, with cattle grazing and farmers ploughing in peace; on the other, the foaming river, rushing along in boiling eddies and whirlpools, through the gloomy abyss worn in the rock by its eternal fretting, until suddenly emerging from its imprisonment, it enters the vale of Lewiston, where it rests from its labors, and like a wearied traveler, lazily seeks its home in the bosom of Ontario. The view which all at once spreads out before you, as you suddenly reach the abrupt descent into the vale of Lewiston, after a long ride over a level country, is one of the loveliest in all the land. The only object that mars the beauty of the scenery and detracts from the feeling it inspires, is the shattered ruin of the fine column erected to the memory of General Brock, who fell in the battle of Queenstown, and the indignation naturally excited in every breast at this brutal outrage on the memory of a brave and generous soldier.³¹ It was a tribute of respect well deserved and well bestowed, and no man of proper feelings, be he friend or foe, can refrain from execrating the midnight incendiary who perpetrated this outrage. Thank heaven, he was not a chicken of our raising.

At Lewiston I embarked on the calm, quiet river, which thence to its confluence with Lake Ontario presents a striking contrast to the whirling torrent above, in the steamer *Lady of the Lake*, the neatest and prettiest of all its kind. Our voyage to Oswego was made principally by night, and I saw little worthy of remark, except the sun setting in the lake, and a greater number of vessels than on the upper lakes. Oswego is a fine town, but like many others I have seen, has suffered much from the fever of anticipation, the prevailing epidemic of the times. Its natural advantages, aided by artificial improvements now in operation, will, however, I have no doubt, in a few years enable it to recover its strength and vigor, and become, in good time, the queen city of Lake Ontario.

Here I left the great chain of inland seas, with impressions of their grandeur and sublimity which will not soon be effaced. There is that within and about them which awakens the mind to new perceptions of the omnipotence of the great architect of the universe, new ideas of the vastness of created things; and those who prefer the contemplation of nature in her gigantic stature and simple attire of grace and beauty as exhibited in our new world, to that of the moss-grown, decayed works of men in the old, which are rather exemplifications of his weakness than his power, cannot enjoy a greater luxury than that of circumnavigation the great northern lakes, which, with Niagara Falls, have nothing to compare with them on the face of the earth.

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³⁰ September 14, 1763. A wagon train en route from Fort Schlosser to Lewiston was attacked by five hundred Seneca Indians at a spot overlooking Devil's Hole and the entire party, save three, massacred.

³¹ Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812), the British commander who captured Fort Michilimackinac and forced Hull to surrender at Detroit. A monument to him, at Queenston Heights, was blown up in 1840 by an irate Irishman.

The British Admiralty versus Sir Charles Napier

ARVEL B. ERICKSON

The Crimean War which began in 1853 had, like Topsy, "just grew." While it was "growing" it was necessary for the British Admiralty to make those preparations which, should the war come, would enable the country successfully to prosecute it. The aim of this article is to explain the nature of the preparations made by the Admiralty for the Baltic phase of that war, and to discuss the essential facts in the dispute that developed between Sir James Graham, the First Lord, and Admiral Sir Charles Napier, commander of the Baltic fleet.¹

Since the bulk of Russia's fleet, as well as her chief naval bases, were in the Baltic, whence any Russian attack on England would obviously have to come, Graham made elaborate plans for naval operations there. It was known that the Russian Baltic fleet consisted of three divisions with nine line-of-battle ships each stationed at Reval in Estonia, Helsingfors in Finland, and Cronstadt in Russia. The Admiralty hopefully expected that a successful attack here would prevent these three groups from uniting, keep Russia from concentrating all her strength in the Black Sea, and at the same time to fix the wavering neutrality of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia.

The strategy having been determined, it became the duty of the First Lord to provide a fleet adequate to the task. As early as April, 1853, orders were issued to all admirals, port officials and others to maintain a discreet silence and under no circumstances to talk with newspaper men about naval matters.² Other orders directed that all ships be got in readiness for action, that the recruiting of seamen be started, and that all leaves be cancelled.³ An extensive correspondence was carried on by the Admiralty with architects and

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge with thanks the kindness of Sir Fergus Graham in permitting him to use the entire correspondence between Sir James Graham and Admiral Napier which has been carefully preserved at the ancestral home in Netherby, England.

² *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Secretary Out-Letters; Home Stations, Military Branch) 2/1562.

³ *Ibid.*

engineers about new designs of ships—construction, improvements in guns, etc.⁴ In June an assiduous search was instituted for competent pilots, particularly for those who knew the Baltic region thoroughly,⁵ and surveyors were sent to Cronstadt and the Aland Islands.⁶ By the end of the year an imposing fleet, consisting of 44 ships, 2,200 guns, and 22,000 men, had been assembled—a fleet which had for real power, according to Yonge, "never been surpassed."⁷

But who was to command this imposing array of power? There were three possible choices, Graham told Queen Victoria: Lord Dundonald, Sir William Parker, and Sir Charles Napier. The rule of seniority still prevailed, but Dundonald was 79 years of age and the cabinet refused to appoint him, and, since Parker's health was failing, Graham was left with no choice but to appoint Napier. His recommendation of Napier was couched in these words: "Though his appointment may be open to some objections, it is strongly recommended by many considerations."⁸ He was reputed to be a good seaman, was said to be courageous, and he undoubtedly loved his country. Still, he had on several occasions been guilty of insubordination, and on October 6, 1853, had addressed a public meeting in London at which he had criticized the peace policy of Aberdeen and said that "instead of reviewing a grand fleet at Spithead, he [Napier] would have treated the Russians to the old Nelson trick in the Baltic."⁹ It was this type of conduct that led Clarendon to state that Napier was "one of the most ill-conditioned men that ever lived," and that the "ablest officers of his own profession" disliked him. What was even worse, to mid-Victorians, he was uncouth, ill-educated, slovenly in appearance, and quarrelsome. His appointment, which proved unfortunate in every respect, can therefore be excused only on the grounds that Graham had no other choice.

Taking command of the fleet, Napier, "hero of the knife and fork," as Greville put it, and "banqueting on victories still to be

⁴ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Comptroller Out-Letters), 9/15; 16; 17.

⁵ *Ibid.* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697.

⁶ Captain Washington, one of the surveyors, reported that he was "thunderstruck," at the "wonderfully efficient" state of the Russian Navy. See Clarendon to Graham, Sept. 27, 1853, in Charles Stuart Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham*, London, 1907, II, 223-224. Seymour, the British Ambassador to Russia, held the opposite view. See Seymour, to Graham, Aug. 18, 1853, in *Ibid.* See also *Fraser's Magazine*, XLIX, 214-224.

⁷ Charles D. Yonge, *The History of the British Navy from the Earliest Times to the Present*, second ed., London, R. Bentley, 1866, III, 290. See also the *London Illustrated News*, XXIV, 206.

⁸ Graham to Queen Victoria, Feb. 9, 1854, in *Graham Papers*.

⁹ See *London Illustrated News*, XXIII, 333.

won,"¹⁰ congratulated Graham on having fitted out "such a splendid fleet," and in February departed for the Baltic. But on the very day of departure, he began to lose his vaunted nerve. To the Mayor and Council of Portsmouth, who gave him a farewell dinner, he said he hoped that England "would not expect too much," because his fleet was a new one, systems of warfare were now different, and great consideration was necessary "to manage a fleet urged by steam." This from the man to whom Graham had written: "If you are dissatisfied with the preparations which have been made, and are in process, if you have not entire confidence in the strength of the combined forces of France and England, you had better say so to me at once, and decline to accept [the] command."¹¹

True to form Napier at once began to disobey orders. On March 18, he was directed to remain at Wingo Sound until he received further orders, but he left it on March 23 without explaining why and without the approval of the Admiralty Board.¹² When questioned about it, Napier replied, on April 8, that if he had stayed at Wingo Sound "the Russians might have seized that opportunity and passed a squadron through the Sound, when I was passing the intricate passage of the Belt."¹³ And on the same day he wrote to Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, that it was going to be difficult to strike at Russia and that it would have been wiser to have sent all the men who were off for Turkey to the Baltic instead—about 100,000!¹⁴ On March 30, war having been declared, Napier was ordered to advance to the Gulf of Finland to establish a close blockade there as well as in the Gulf of Bothnia; to prevent Russian ships from getting into the North Sea; and to "undertake warlike operations."¹⁵ He was given "the largest discretionary power" in carrying out this task, was urged fully to cooperate with the French Admiral, and was supplied with a large quantity of maps, charts, diagrams of the Russian fortresses, as well as a batch of papers describing naval operations in the Baltic during the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁶

Napier carefully studied the latter. Then, on April 18, fearful of

¹⁰ Cited in *Ibid.*, XXIV, 243.

¹¹ *Napier Papers*, VII (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40024), p. 4.

¹² *Graham Papers* (Correspondence between the Admiralty and Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier Respecting Naval Operations in the Baltic), Dispatch No. 5, p. 3. (Hereinafter cited as *Corr. with Napier*).

¹³ *Ibid.*, Dispatch No. 8, p. 5.

¹⁴ See G. B. Earp, *History of the Baltic War*, London, 1857, 95.

¹⁵ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 93. See also *Napier Papers*, VII (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40024), p. 88.

¹⁶ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 102-103; p. 97-98; and (Adm. Sec. In-Letters), 1/5635.

entering the Gulf of Finland, he wrote to the Admiralty: "I find that in 1808-1809 the fleet never entered the Gulf of Finland till the month of July. I should wish their lordships instructions on that head."¹⁷ In 1808-1809, replied the Admiralty, "there were no ships of war propelled by steam employed within the Gulf of Finland." Dispatches received on May 16, 20, and 30 further served to diminish Napier's reputation in the eyes of the First Lord. In the first, he said he had "no fear of the Russian Fleet";¹⁸ in the second, the querulous Admiral said that as for steam, "it had no effect upon fogs," and that some of his ships were "perfectly unfit to go into action";¹⁹ and in the third, he declared that Sweaborg and Helsingfors were "unattackable either by sea or land."²⁰ On June 12, he wrote again that Sweaborg was unassailable by ships, and on July 1 that "any attack on Cronstadt . . . with our means is perfectly impossible";—but an army, he thought, could attack it by way of St. Petersburg!²¹

At the same time Graham had received reports from Captain Plumridge, Rear-Admiral Chads and General Jones each of whom had reconnoitred the region about Sweaborg, and each of whom had reported that it *was* assailable. Nevertheless, Graham thought it proper to accept the report of the Admiral and on July 11 ordered him to meet the French Admiral at Faro and to proceed from there to Baro Sound where plans should be perfected for an attack on Bomarsund. If the attack succeeded, they should then launch an assault on Sweaborg. At the same time, he told Napier that he must closely blockade the Russian fleet in the Gulf of Finland and that "wherever the bulk of your fleet may be, your duty as Commander-in-Chief is to be with it, and the paramount duty of this command must not be delegated to any other officer."²²

But instead of meeting the French Admiral, Perceval Deschênes, at Faro Sound as directed, Napier met him at Ledsund, the outer roadstead of Bomarsund! Then he protested that Graham's directive was obviously based on certainty of success at Bomarsund whereas he [Napier] had also to "provide for want of success."²³ Not only that, but he also began to quarrel with Deschênes, whom Cow-

¹⁷ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), Dispatch No. 11, p. 6.

¹⁸ Napier to Graham, in Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham*, II, 232.

¹⁹ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), Dispatch No. 14, p. 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 15, p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 24, p. 12.

²² *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 151-154.

²³ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), July 24, 1854, No. 28, p. 16; *Napier Papers*, VIII (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40025, p. 63.)

ley had described as "a very conciliatory good-tempered man."²⁴ Alarmed at fancied signs of bad weather, fearful of the strength of the Russian fleet and their bomb-proof forts, Napier would perhaps not even have attacked Bomarsund were it not that he had been ordered to do so.²⁵ At length, on August 8, a combined English and French land and sea assault was launched. It was entirely successful and the Russians surrendered the fort along with 2000 men.

After the seizure of Bomarsund Napier sent General Jones to make another reconnaissance of Reval and Sweaborg, and to Napier's horror, Jones not only reported that Sweaborg could be taken in seven or eight days, but actually drew up a plan of attack for the Admiral. Jones sent a copy of his report to the Admiralty, which three days later received an additional report from Niel, the French General, confirming Jones's findings.²⁶ On the basis of this information, and anxious to have Sweaborg taken before the French army went home for the winter, Graham directed Napier to consult with his French allies as to what further operations could be undertaken which would "justify before the Public the confidence which has been placed in you,"²⁷ and to put in writing the joint opinion of himself and Admiral Deschênes if they decided against attacking Sweaborg.²⁸

At a council of war on August 28, the Admirals decided that it was too late in the year to attack Sweaborg, and began to make plans for returning home. Graham, deplored this decision of the Admirals, ordered Napier to continue the blockade in the Gulf of Finland, because "in former years we have remained there as late as November,"²⁹ and because if the fleet withdrew the Russians might come out to make the whole Baltic summer operation seem ridiculous.

Then, unexpectedly, Napier made another reconnaissance of Sweaborg and reported that an attack could be made and described in detail how it could be done.³⁰ Graham, completely astounded, naturally asked "what, then, are the obstacles to an immediate attempt?"³¹ Napier, having fully expected to be told not to make the attempt at that season, was now cornered. So, having decided not to attack Sweaborg, he replied that he had never said Sweaborg

²⁴ F. A. Wellesley, ed., *Secrets of the Second Empire*, New York, 1929, 55.

²⁵ *Napier Papers*, VIII (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40025), p. 124.

²⁶ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. In-Letters), 1/5625.

²⁷ *Ibid.* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 172-174.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 178-184.

²⁹ *Napier Papers*, IX (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40026), p. 118.

³⁰ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 46, p. 23.

³¹ Graham to Napier, Sept. 22, 1854, in Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham*, II, 237.

was assailable, that no man in his right senses would attempt it at that late season, and that Jones' scheme was sheer "madness."³² In addition, he violated the Admiralty's orders by sending the sailing ships home and ordering the screws to Kiel.

In the meantime, the Admiralty had received a report from Sir Robert Peel, one of the Lords of the Admiralty who had been at Cronstadt, in which Peel declared that if Napier had been even mildly energetic, even Cronstadt could have been taken. General Niel had made a similar report. Then General Jones complained to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary at War, that Napier had denied him permission to reconnoitre Cronstadt. Newcastle discussed it with Graham, who, justifiably provoked, wrote to Napier that he strongly regretted this refusal to let Jones make the reconnaissance and ordered him to explain the reasons,³³ told him about the reports of Peel and Niel, reminded him that "war [was] not conducted without risks and dangers,"³⁴ and acidly declared that no instructions had been given him to proceed to Kiel.

Napier's reply angered Graham and the members of the Admiralty Board. Both Peel and Niel, he said, were "a couple of old women;"³⁵ he had not permitted Jones to make the reconnaissance of Cronstadt because the Admiralty had not sent him orders to do so; he had sent the ships to Kiel because of "frightful gales."

When, late in September, it was publicly known that the Baltic fleet was on its way home, a storm of protest arose. The *Illustrated News*, for instance, declared that having merely taken Bomarsund and cruised about the Baltic, the fleet should be ashamed to come home. It was like the French King:

The Baltic Fleet, with fifty thousand men, Sailed up the seas—and then sailed home again.³⁶

The *Times* declared that Cronstadt or Sweaborg, not Spithead, ought to be the fleet's destination,³⁷ while *Fraser's Magazine* denounced Napier for having "neither conquered nor attempted conquest."³⁸

Aware of the fact that the public and the Admiralty were thoroughly dissatisfied with his summer's work, Napier, on September

³² *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 56, p. 39-40.

³³ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 33-34.

³⁴ *Napier Papers*, IX (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40026), p. 205.

³⁵ Napier to Graham, Oct. 3, 1854, in Parker, II, 238.

³⁶ *London Illustrated News*, XXV, 387.

³⁷ *London Times*, Sept. 13, 1854, p. 6.

³⁸ *Fraser's Magazine*, LII, 724.

25, wrote that he had meant that Sweaborg was assailable *if* he had mortars, rockets, and Lancaster guns! Later notes complained that the Admiralty had been guilty of misinterpreting his reports, that when he had written that Sweaborg was assailable he had "never meant to infer that it could be taken by ships alone."³⁹

At last, on October 31, Graham sent the following letter to Napier:

I am very unwilling to be involved in a written controversy with you; but you have brought it on yourself in your report of the 25th of September . . . That report appears to me to be entirely at variance with the opinions previously expressed by you and I certainly understood you then to say, that if you had Mortars, Rockets and Lancaster guns, you considered Sweaborg assailable by Sea. In May you declared it to be unassailable by sea or land and the Admiralty did not send you the appliances which in September you declared to be wanting because they believed they would be useless against a place which in the first instance you pronounced to be impregnable. I could not bring myself to believe that the want of Lancaster guns, or even of Mortars, rendered a sea attack on your plan of the 25th of September impossible, if you had 25 Sail-of-the-Line assembled before the place with all their means of verticle fire . . .⁴⁰

To this sharp but proper note Napier replied that the Admiralty continuously misinterpreted his explanations and that instead of being criticised he should be given credit "for not trying to do something which must have led to inevitable disaster."⁴¹ And Graham immediately replied that the Admiralty could not permit "any officer under their orders to suppose that they can deliberately misinterpret explanations on which they still require further explanation."⁴²

In November two ships accidentally crashed into each other and the Admiralty ordered a prompt investigation and a complete report. But Napier, in his report, simply wrote a series of comments on the Admiralty's orders. This was too much and the Admiralty directly informed him that such orders were given "with a view to your carrying them out, and not for your comments."⁴³

Completely disgusted with Napier's performance, and knowing that the Baltic was now safely frozen over, Graham, on December 1, ordered the fleet home. On December 22, "his great battle unfought, his immortal laurels unwon, and much of the work . . . remaining undone," as the *Illustrated News* aptly described it,⁴⁴ Na-

³⁹ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 70, p. 49.

⁴⁰ *Napier Papers*, IX, (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 40026), 225.

⁴¹ *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 72, p. 52.

⁴² *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 183-184.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁴⁴ *London Illustrated News*, XXV, 642.

pier anchored at Spithead, and, to his surprise and consternation, found this order awaiting him: "You are hereby required and directed to strike your Flag and come on shore."⁴⁵ Did this mean, asked Napier, that his command was at an end? "The order which you have received . . . to strike your Flag and come on shore," answered Graham, "is always the termination of a Flag officer's command."⁴⁶

The infuriated Admiral wrote to the Admiralty Board demanding a court-martial, but this was turned down by the Board on the grounds that no censure had been passed on his conduct. Napier then wrote to Aberdeen, who replied that he had just resigned from the Premiership (January 30, 1855) and could therefore do nothing about it. Completely frustrated, Napier then turned to the Duke of Newcastle, who merely told him that since this was a naval question it was outside his jurisdiction.⁴⁷

Not to be silenced, Napier carried the matter to the public. In an address at the Mansion House and in subsequent addresses in Parliament, to which he had been elected as the representative of Southwark, he denounced Graham and the Admiralty Board. The burden of these speeches was that the Baltic fleet was poorly manned and badly disciplined; that many ships in his fleet were unseaworthy; that he had been ordered to attack impregnable fortresses; that Graham had sent him "long jesuitical" and insulting letters.

There is absolutely no evidence to support Napier's charge that his fleet was in any respect inadequate. The Press uniformly praised Graham for the splendid fleet he had got in readiness; the Sebastopol Committee, investigating the Government's conduct of the war, found nothing to criticize and much to praise in Graham's Baltic fleet preparations; Yonge, as we have seen, declared that for striking power "it had never been surpassed"; and Napier himself had described his fleet (before he left for the Baltic) as a splendid one.

The charge that he had been ordered to attack impregnable fortresses is simply untrue. The *Admiralty Papers* contain no such orders; nor do the *Graham* or *Napier Papers*. He was directed to blockade the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia and to undertake warlike operations, and was given the greatest possible discretionary powers in carrying out these operations. But he was not ordered to attack any fort except that of Bomarsund. And, when the latter attack

⁴⁵ *Napier Papers*, IX (Br. Mus. Add. Ms., 40026), p. 283.

⁴⁶ *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 347-348.

⁴⁷ Cited in Earp, *Baltic War*, 566.

was made, despite the fact that Napier had definitely pronounced it impregnable, it had fallen with ludicrous ease.

No student of Nineteenth Century English history would doubt Graham's ability to write "long jesuitical" letters, but in this case his letters were anything but long and "jesuitical." They were, in fact, so short, sharp and direct that they could not possibly have been misunderstood—even by Napier.

At the time Napier was appointed to the command, Graham knew that he might have difficulty with the querulous old Admiral, who had begged for the appointment, and for that reason was patient in dealing with him. But Napier's constant complaints, his apparent cowardice (he always faced "dense" fogs, "frightful" gales, "impregnable" fortresses—"as strong as Toulon!"), his refusal to obey orders or to take advice, his inability or unwillingness to co-operate amicably with the French officers or with his own, and his arrogance in his dealings with the Admiralty Board, not only exhausted Graham's patience, but left him with no alternative but to order him to strike his flag.

For four or five months Napier managed to keep his dispute with the Admiralty, (intertwined as it was with a shift in ministry and with the public criticism of the war effort) before the country. But he carried it too far and by the spring of 1855 the Press, especially the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* were severely criticising the House for wasting time listening to him. And as soon as a new admiral in the Baltic captured Sweaborg in the summer of 1855 the public lost all interest in Napier. The whole affair was very properly buried by a priceless quip in *Punch*. The electors of Southwark, to assuage the wounded feelings of the Admiral, gave a party for him and presented him with an admiral's hat. "A piece of the most sublime mockery," wrote *Punch*, "to present a hat to a man who has completely lost his head."⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ *Punch*, XXXI, 222.

The Theatre in Early Kansas City

In the nineteenth century, as the various types of frontier moved westward across the American continent, one of the cultural institutions that kept close to the outer fringe of civilization was the theatre. The frontier inhabitants in all parts of the West craved entertainment. They supported local dramatic organizations, patronized variety halls, welcomed visiting troupes of all kinds, built theatres and later established opera houses. As the pioneer population poured into the prairie and plains settlements of the middle west the theatre soon made its appearance.

The frontier line of settlement crossed the Mississippi in the forties and fifties, and large numbers of emigrants made their way to the Pacific. The Missouri River came to be regarded by overland travelers as the dividing line between the East and the West. Along its banks various settlements developed, some of which became outfitting posts for overland companies in preparation for their long trek west. At the bend of that muddy and turgid stream, where, in the words of Thomas Hart Benton, a "rocky bluff meets and turns aside the sweeping current of this mighty river, here, where the Missouri, pursuing her southwestward course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to meet the Mississippi,"¹ arose the settlement of Kansas City.

Beginning as a fur trading post as early as 1821, the site of the future metropolis was first surveyed by a land and townsite company for speculative purposes in 1838, at which time it was reported to have a store, a saloon, and several shanties. A second survey in the spring of 1846 stimulated the sale of town lots, increasing the number of inhabitants to approximately seven hundred. Boomed further by the Mexican War and the beginnings of the California gold rush, its population was reduced to only three hundred in 1851 by a severe epidemic of cholera.² The village grew slowly, and when the Territory of Kansas was opened for settlement in 1854 and emigrants disembarked from steamboats at the various Missouri River towns on their way to "save Kansas," an observer, in describing the settlement at that time, said:

¹ *Kansas City Star*, December 14, 1906.

² Charles C. Spalding, *Annals of the City of Kansas City and the Western Plains*, Kansas City, Missouri, 1857, Events of 1851.

I will never forget the depression I felt when I first had a view of the town, then containing about 500 inhabitants. All the business was done on the River front, and the buildings were old and dilapidated, the sidewalks unpaved, and the streets muddy and cut up with ruts by heavy freight wagons. The people were of the lowest type of frontiersmen, and many of them Mexicans and halfbreeds . . . I found the place full of immigrants on their way to Kansas . . . I was unable to secure a bed at the hotel, but was allowed to spread blankets on the floor for myself and family.³

In 1855 an eastern pictorial magazine presented an ink sketch of the river town and reported it to be "a place of considerable business and to embrace all the elements of future greatness."⁴ During the Pike's Peak gold rush, Kansas City and Westport Landing, whose histories are interwoven, grew into a settlement of considerable size, until in 1860 the population numbered more than 4,000 inhabitants.

When the first theatrical performance was presented in Kansas City is not known, although the first press announcement of one appeared late in May, 1856,⁵ when a small advertisement on the editorial page of a local newspaper carried the statement that, on Monday 23, a joint entertainment consisting of Mabie's Menagerie, Stone's Circus,⁶ and Tyler's Indian Exhibit would be presented.⁷ Whether or not the joint presentation was given, there apparently

³ J. R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VIII, 227-250; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, Denver, 1893, 356, gives a description of Kansas City in the late fifties, and Walker D. Wyman, *The Missouri River Towns in the Westward Movement*, (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1935,) contains considerable material on the early development of the city.

⁴ *Ballou's Pictorial Magazine*, Boston, Saturday August 5, 1855.

⁵ *Kansas City Enterprise*, May 31, 1856.

⁶ The circus, with its broad and spectacular appeal, was always popular on the frontier, and appeared in Kansas City in these early years on several occasions. There is record of two circuses in the summer of 1857, that of Herr Dreisach and Company on May 12, and the performance of Sands, Nathan Company, American and French Circus on June 27. In 1858, North's National Circus was in town on May 26; the Spaulding Rogers Company presented a mixed tent production on July 28 consisting of a "Great Monkey Circus, A Burlesque Dramatic Troupe," and a company of minstrels; and on August 6 Washburn's American Colossal Circus gave a well attended performance. In the period between 1856 and 1880, thirty-eight circuses are recorded in Kansas City, offering eighty-four performances. Jean Rietz, *History of the Theatre of Kansas City from the Beginning until 1900*, (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1929,) I, 11-12. (This will be cited hereinafter as Rietz.)

⁷ Coup says that it was not until 1851 that a circus and a menagerie were exhibited together at one price of admission, and owned by the same proprietor. Before that time the circus and the menagerie were separate and distinct attractions and the menagerie was only exhibited in the day-time. W. A. Coup, *Sawdust and Spangles*, Chicago, 1901, 140.

is no available record. The next published statement of a local attraction did not appear until June, 1858, when the following advertisement was printed in the local press:

For one night only / The Aleghanians / J. M. Boulard, Basso; Miss Lizzie Yale, Soprano / E. H. Lock, Tenor; J. S. Leach, Tenor / M. Halam, Pianist and Violinist / First Grand Concert / First Methodist Church / Admission Fifty Cents / P. A. Clark, Business Manager; J. M. Boulard, Director.⁸

Kansas City had its first theatrical season in 1858.⁹ Early in April the press announced the coming of Christy's Minstrels,¹⁰ and during the last part of the month the D. L. Scott Theatre Troupe, the first legitimate theatrical company to appear in Kansas City, presented a number of plays. Although the details of the engagement are not available, the *Western Journal of Commerce* on May 1, 1858 carried a brief statement on its editorial page under the heading "Theatre" which reads as follows:

Mr. D. L. Scott's theatrical troupe have been performing in our city the past week and we must say, we were taken entirely by surprise by the superior acting and versatility evidenced, with their numbers. We can recommend his performances as legitimate and well worth seeing, even by Old Theatre goers.¹¹

⁸ *Kansas City Enterprise*, June 6, 1858. While this seems to be the only time that a theatrical performance was advertised to appear in a place of worship without church benefit, it was not uncommon for amateur performances to be presented by religious groups in which the proceeds were divided. Church opposition to the theatre in Kansas City was negligible, Rietz, 12-13.

⁹ There is evidence of various types of social activity in Kansas City by 1858. The Fourth of July of that year was celebrated to an extent hitherto unknown in the frontier settlement. Three thousand persons gathered in a grove in McGee's Addition with Banta's Band playing "stirring music" from ten o'clock in the morning until evening. One account tells how Colonel McGee bought a buffalo for the barbecue. The animal got loose and the crowd chased it for a mile or more before it was captured. The celebration ended with a ball at the Metropolitan Hotel. On November 18 of the same year, the first charity ball on record took place with tickets selling for one dollar and fifty cents. On the following November 26, a second charity ball was held. Mayor Wilton J. Payne appealed to all inhabitants to attend, stating that: "persons who choose may go in character, as several of the young men are anxious to have a fancy dress ball." Carrie Westlake Whitney, *Kansas City*, Chicago, 1908, I, 657-658; Phoebe Peck, *The Theatre in Kansas City*, (M. A. thesis, University of Kansas City, 1940,) 6-8. (This will be cited hereinafter as Peck.)

¹⁰ *Western Journal of Commerce*, April 7, 1858. The first and only reference to a hall at this time is found in the local *Journal* for April 17, 1858, when a ball was advertised to be held at Metropolitan Hall. This was probably operated in connection with the Metropolitan Hotel mentioned above.

¹¹ The use of the words "Old Theatre goers" by the editor is significant. In most of the early western settlements, many of the pioneer inhabitants were ardent patrons of the drama. They had attended the theatre in their eastern homes and welcomed theatrical performances on the frontier with enthusiasm. Rietz, 16.

On June 18, 1858, the Tedge and Morrison Theatre Troupe advertised that it would present that evening at the courthouse "the beautiful comedy *How to Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, to be concluded by the farce *Kiss in the Dark*." M'le Aubrey was to present a dance between the main play and the afterpiece.¹² Admission was fifty-cents and doors were to open at seven-thirty o'clock, with the curtain rising at eight. The next day, after reporting that "the attendance last night was good, and the company acquitted [sic] themselves to the entire satisfaction of the house," the local press announced that *The Stranger* would be presented, to be concluded by the afterpiece, *Betsy Baker*. The notice spoke of *The Stranger* as "a play which always draws and which no company has before attempted here."¹³ The troupe remained through the evening of June 28, offering in its repertoire *The Lady of Lyons*, *Black Eyed Susan*, *The Irish Heiress*, *The Hunchback*, *The Return to Moscow*, and *Michael Earle*, with the afterpieces *Rough Diamond*, *Nicode-mus or Don't Be Skeered*, *The Jealous Husband*, *Dead Shot*, and *The Young Widow*. On June 21 the afterpiece *A Day in Kansas City*, which was no doubt a standard production adjusted to fit the local situation, was received enthusiastically by the audience.¹⁴ Each evening's performance included a dance by M'le Aubrey.

On June 23 Scott's Theatrical Troupe advertised for a return engagement, and promised an "excellent bill" at the courthouse on the following Saturday night. The editor described the program, which, in addition to plays, was to include a favorite dance or two, a song in character by Mrs. Scott and Miss Maggie, and music by the Silver Cornet Band. His comments regarding the company were very favorable:¹⁵

Haversac is an old favorite of ours, and as produced by Scott's Company cannot fail to give satisfaction to our lovers of the drama. The laughable farce *Paddy O'Rourke* always brings down the house . . . Mrs. Scott in that piece takes five distinct characters—and as the boy—she never fails to be greeted with bursts of applause. In fact she has long since demonstrated

¹² Frontier programs usually consisted of a full length play and an afterpiece with dance and musical numbers between.

¹³ *The Stranger* was probably the most successful of Kotzebue's plays. It was first introduced to American audiences at the Park Theatre in New York by William Dunlap in 1798.

¹⁴ *Western Journal of Commerce*, June 18-26, 1858. *A Day in Kansas City* was a type of play popular on the frontier. Three plays with local allusions were performed in Frank's Hall in 1868. They were: *Guerilla Raid*, *Keno or a Night in Kansas City*, and *Jenny Lind in Kansas City*.

¹⁵ *Western Journal of Commerce*, June 23, 1858.

that in that character at least, she can't be beat on the western stage . . . Let us turn out one and all, and give them a full house, and show them that theatricals are appreciated in this city.

On June 22 a musical troupe advertised as the "Ancient Druid Ox Horn Players, featuring Little Jamie, the Infant Musical Wonder." The performance was to be held at "Large Hall in Teill's new building, two doors below the post office on Third Street." The hall was being fitted up for the occasion, and the admission was to be fifty cents.¹⁶ The courthouse continued to be used for theatrical productions during 1859, although offerings were not numerous. Two minstrel troupes appeared: Rohner's on March 10, and Campbell's on April 13 to April 16. From June 3 to June 7, the Cleveland Family Troupe Comedy Company appeared, with J. C. Frederichs listed as the star. They presented *The Swiss Cottage*, *A Day in Paris*, and *The Soldier of the Revolution, or Love in '76*. With the closing of the Cleveland Family's engagement, the courthouse was no longer used for theatrical purposes.¹⁷

Lockridge Hall, erected in 1859 by Thomas J. Lockridge on Fifth and Main Streets, was the first public hall in Kansas City. It was leased for a time in the spring and summer of 1860 by the managers Langrische and Allen. Several amateur programs were presented there and a number of musical productions, among which were the Peak Family of Bell Ringers, the Siegrist and Zanfretta Troupe, and a concert by Madame Anna Bishop.¹⁸ On the day following the Bishop concert, July 17, 1860, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce* spoke in glowing terms of the program, but explained the small attendance by attributing it to the "malicious and groundless reports that have been spread by interested persons of the want of safety to Lockridge Hall . . ." The so-called "interested persons" referred to in the statement were probably the owners of Concert Hall, running at the time in competition. The rumors against Lockridge Hall apparently were effective as its last perform-

¹⁶ *Ibid*, June 22, 1858. This is the only time that Large Hall appears in press advertisements. Rietz, 19-20.

¹⁷ Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce*, April and June, 1859.

¹⁸ These early theatres in Kansas City sheltered both minor and major troupes as well as outstanding stars. Madame Anna Bishop was a prominent singer at this time. Born in London in 1816, she came to America in 1847. After returning home she came to America for a second visit in 1859, during which time she toured the country widely, making several tours through the west. The appearance of Anna Bishop in 1860 would be the equivalent of a concert by Lily Pons today. T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage, 1733 to 1870*, New York, 1870, 383.

ance was held on July 28, 1860, after which it disappeared from press announcements.¹⁹

In August, 1860 the arrival of the steamboat *Banjo* with its troupe of the "World's Star Minstrels" was announced. Included in this company were Sam Gardner, B. A. Cotton, J. W. Adams, Nick Foster, George W. Hill, P. Chatfield, T. Allen, J. Wainbold, and P. Campbell. The troupe presented programs on September 6 and 7 at regular admission prices and played to large audiences.²⁰ In September the Thalia Society presented an amateur performance in Spier's Hall on Main Street. It was given as a benefit for Mrs. Dina Schion, with a free ball at the close of the program.

Long's Hall, located on Main Street between Fifth and Sixth, was built by Adam Long in 1860, who used the lower portion of the building as a grocery store.²¹ This was leased or rented to theatrical troupes over a period of years. It was first reported in the press in September and October, 1860, when Ada and Emma Webb appeared.²² The hall was especially important from 1863 to 1867, when numerous theatrical troupes presenting legitimate drama as well as all types of variety entertainment appeared.

There were no theatrical offerings in Kansas City in 1861 and 1862 due to the Civil War. There was a slight revival in 1863. The Union Theatre Troupe, managed by John Templeton, appeared in Long's Hall daily for a season lasting from July 29 to August 29, offering a regular play and afterpiece, and again from February 1 to February 27, 1864. In its extensive repertoire were many productions long popular on the frontier: *The Lady of Lyons*, *Jack Sheppard*, *Black Eyed Susan*, *The Stranger*, *Don Caesar de Bazan*,

¹⁹ *Western Journal of Commerce* July 12, 17, 28, 1860; Rietz 20-25; Whitney I, 224-26; *Kansas City Star*, November 11, 1884; *Kansas City Times*, June 4, 1920. According to one report, Lockridge Hall had been erected over a public sewer where the land was uneven, which caused the building to settle rather badly. Since the building was constructed of brick there was probably some danger.

²⁰ *Western Journal of Commerce*, August 20, 1860. This was the well known showboat *Banjo* active on the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers during the mid-century. While this is the only available press announcement of a showboat appearing in Kansas City, Rietz's study on the early theatre there expresses the opinion that since much theatrical advertising was done by handbills, no doubt such performances did occur frequently. Rietz, 24.

²¹ The building was a long one, with a stage at one end of the upper story. No attempt was made to fit it up as a real theatre.

²² The Webb sisters were born in New Orleans, Emma in 1843 and Ada in 1845, and both made their debut there, appearing with their mother in drawing room entertainments in 1858. They visited California in 1859, playing both in the cities and the mountain towns. They traveled widely in the west. Brown, *History of the American Stage*, 383.

Ingomar, Chamber of Death, Dick Turpin, The Serious Family, Taming of the Shrew, Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady, Othello, The Toodles, Fanchon, The Hidden Hand, and The Marble Heart. From October 26 to December 16, 1863, the National Theatre Company occupied Long's Hall for a successful season, followed by the Haight Theatrical Company.

The summer of 1864 was quiet theatrically, but from October 7 to October 16 the Leavenworth Company appeared at Long's Hall. No further activity is recorded until Frank Howard's Atheneum Combination Dramatic Company presented its offerings in two engagements between September 23 and 30 and October 6 and 13, 1865. The Berry and Arnand Troupe occupied the hall from January 2 to 10, 1866. The Howard Theatre Company managed by Howard, Bowen, and Catterton, played at Long's Hall from April 9 to May 16, 1866, and although popular plays were offered, the company was said to have been badly balanced and unrehearsed. On May 2, 1866, the local press related that since there was "nobody present at Long's Hall last night, there was no performance. Howard's Theatre is about played out. The troupe, which is of no account, we learn is going to Leavenworth next week."²³ The Breslau Troupe, headed by Mrs. Melissa Breslau, played a successful season from June 4 to July 2, 1866, attracting large audiences in spite of the intense heat. The repertoire of the company included such plays as *East Lynne, Lucretia Borgia, Macbeth, Othello, Ingomar, Camille, and Deborah*. The engagement of the Graff Family Theatrical Troupe from January 13 to 25, 1867, was the last major appearance at Long's Hall.²⁴ The price of admission to Long's was usually fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children for which, according to the local press, the public could be assured that "good order would be preserved."²⁵

Frank's Hall,²⁶ located on the corner of Main and Fifth Streets,

²³ *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 2, 1866.

²⁴ Rietz, 1, 25-29; Whitney, 225-227. Long's Hall was used for several years more for variety entertainment.

²⁵ *Daily Journal of Commerce*, July 29, 1863. For some presentations the admission charge was increased to seventy-five cents.

²⁶ Frank's Hall was in no way a real theatre. It was a rather long narrow building with a small stage at one end. The building was three stories high, with a sixty foot frontage on Main Street, and ninety-five feet in length. The entire third floor was devoted to the hall. *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 19, 1878. Its entrance was a long staircase on the outside of the rear of the building. There were no dressing rooms and players made up before coming to the hall. Peck, 11; *Kansas City Star*, November 5, 1922.

was Kansas City's most important playhouse from the time of its opening, February 8, 1867, until the opening of the Coates Opera House in October, 1870. The first press notice of Frank's Hall appeared in the *Journal of Commerce* of February 6, 1867, as follows:

Frank's Hall / Opening of the New Theatre / Friday, February 8, 1867 / Complimentary Benefit to / Miss Mary Graff / The Great Comic Opera Star / Presenting / The Fairies / Admission Fifty Cents

Numerous theatre companies played at Frank's Hall during the years of its existence, 1867-1878, although the most active period in legitimate drama was from 1867 to 1870. One of the companies was that of W. J. S. Potter, whose first season lasted from April 12 to May 2, 1867, and included such plays as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ten Nights in the Bar Room*. Under the management of Dan Russell several troupes appeared, such as the Post and Rogers Dramatic Company, Frank Frayne's Dramatic Company, Ben De Bar's Opera Troupe and Mill's Dramatic Company. Among the others were numbered the Tom Thumb Troupe, the Siamese Twins and the Mary Gladstone Company of English Players. Among the prominent actors and actresses who appeared at Frank's Hall were George D. Chaplin, Fanny Morgan Phelps, Charlotte Crampton, H. N. Gott-hold and Ann Ward Tiffany.²⁷ A story is related that when Mary Gladstone and her English players were in Kansas City, the members of her troupe went on a strike in the middle of the week although a large number of seats had been sold in advance. Since Miss Gladstone was popular with the public, the strike failed to meet with their approval. A few days later the strikers announced through the press that they would hold a benefit for themselves in order that they might be able to get out of town.²⁸

Colonel Kersey Coates, a prominent citizen of Kansas City,²⁹ came to the conclusion in 1868 that his home town should have a

²⁷ *Kansas City Times*, February 7, 1907; Rietz, I, 30-31; Peck, 11-13.

²⁸ *The Kansas City Star*, November 5, 1922.

²⁹ Colonel Kersey Coates, a Pennsylvania Quaker who had been a high school teacher, came west in 1855 not long after the opening of Kansas Territory. Representing a syndicate of Philadelphia investors, his plans had been to locate either in Lawrence or Leavenworth. He was so favorably impressed, however, with the steamboat and railroad possibilities of Kansas City that he decided to remain there, although he was strongly anti-slavery in feeling and this area was pro-slavery in sentiment. He invested heavily in real estate on the bluff and built a hotel and the well known Coates Opera House, which for three decades was the town's main claim to culture. Darrell Garwood, *Crossroads of America; The Story of Kansas City*, New York, 1948, 117-119.

real theatre, and determined to erect an adequate playhouse. The foundation was laid in the spring of that year on what is now the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway. The spired building of brick was two stories, with the theatre in the second floor, and was said to have cost more than \$100,000. When it was opened in October, 1870, it was termed by one editor "the finest theatre between the Mississippi River and the Pacific," and later, "the largest and finest theatre west of Chicago."³⁰ After its opening, Frank's Hall, unable to compete with its newer and more modern rival, became a second-rate playhouse, and was compelled to restrict its offerings to occasional lectures, minstrel shows, and variety productions.³¹ The opening of Coates Opera House in 1870 marks the close of the frontier period in the theatrical history of Kansas City.³²

The offerings of legitimate drama in Kansas City in the period from 1858 to 1870 were numerous and varied. Many of the older frontier favorites were presented. In the twelve year period the most popular plays, based upon the number of times offered, were as follows: *The Stranger*, *Fanchon, the Cricket*, *The Serious Family*, and *The Lady of Lyons* were each presented nine times; *Kiss in the Dark* and *East Lynne* were each offered on eight occasions, while *Black Eyed Susan*, and *The Toodles* were presented seven times. *The Ticket of Leave Man*, *The Honeymoon*, and *Don Ceasar de Bazan* were offered six times; *The Marble Heart*, *The French Spy*, *Leah the Forsaken* and *Camille*, five times; *Rosedale*, *Jack Sheppard*, *The Hunchback*, and *The Two Orphans*, four times; *Ingomar*, *Ten Nights in the Bar Room*, *Colleen Bawn*, *Queen Elizabeth*, *Richelieu*, *Money*, and *Under the Gaslight*, three times, while *Enoch Arden*, *Guy Mannering*, *Love in Humble Life*, *The Spectre Bridegroom*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Loan of a Lover*, *The Octoroon*, *La Tour de Nesle*, *Rip Van Winkle*, and *Mary Stuart* were presented on two occasions. The plays of Shakespeare were popular in Kansas City as the listings in the press indicate. *Richard III* and *Othello* were both presented on six occasions, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, five times each,

³⁰ *Kansas City Star*, February 1, 1901; March 31, April 12, 1935; *Western Journal of Commerce*, September 11, October 1, 8, 1870. The first performance in Coates Opera House was Bulwer-Lytton's *Money*, presented on October 8, 1870. F. C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Columbia, Missouri, 1927, II, 1003.

³¹ On December 18, 1878, Frank's Hall was demolished when its roof collapsed under the weight of an extremely heavy snow. *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 19, 1878; *Kansas City Star*, February 1, 1901; March 31, 1935.

³² The population of Kansas City increased from 15,064 in 1866 to 32,260 in 1870.

Romeo and Juliet three times, *The Merchant of Venice* twice and *The Taming of the Shrew*, *King Lear*, *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Winter's Tale* at least once.³³

All types of entertainment were presented in Kansas City in the early years of its history. There were individual and group programs consisting of lectures, ventriloquists, magicians, humorists, panoramas, stereoptican views, "freaks", dancers, acrobatic and gymnastic troupes, minstrel shows, choruses, bell ringers, and every possible kind of musical production. These programs were presented at first in the same theatres and halls offering legitimate drama, but as time went on halls and theatres catering to this type of entertainment were built. At times the better variety theatres closed a two hour variety period with a full length play. Some of these plays were adjusted to variety house procedures, and often special plays were written for the concert hall stage.

Notices of large numbers of minor halls and theatres emphasizing variety programs appear in the Kansas City press in the late sixties and early seventies. Since some of these are only mentioned a few times it would seem that many of them were short-lived. While even the more important concert and variety halls often did not advertise, mention of these are to be found in the local press announcements. Beginning in 1868 there are scattered references to specific variety theatres. In January and February, 1868, the *Journal of Commerce* carried an advertisement of a variety house on Main Street "near the Junction", of which Charley Swift was the proprietor. It stated that "a first class performance was given every evening made up of Songs, Dances, Banjo Solos, and in fact everything to make a pleasant place of amusement, with good liquor and cigars served up in bon ton style."³⁴

The need for more satisfactory places for the presentation of entertainment is indicated by an announcement made through the local press early in December, 1868, that the Leavenworth Varieties had opened in Concert Hall, "in the basement under the Kansas City

³³ The listing of plays given here is based on Rietz, II, *passim*. The name of William Shakespeare was held in high regard in the west. The oratory, melodrama, and blood-stirring violence in many of his plays appealed to the frontiersman. Many a western spectator knew the lines of a Shakespearean play being offered as well or better than the actors and to the frontiersman a knowledge of his plays was often his only cultural asset. One of the chief reasons for the interest of the westerner was his craving for pure entertainment; another being a desire to see plays he had seen earlier in the East. Often, on the frontier, companies would present scenes from several Shakespearean plays in one program. Esther C. Dunn, *Shakespeare in America*, New York, 1939, Chapter X, 175-204.

³⁴ *Daily Journal of Commerce*, January 9, 15; February 12, 19, 1868.

Savings Bank, on the corner of Fourth and Delaware streets . . ." and "will be removed to more commodious quarters as soon as they can be secured."³⁵ In March, 1869, the same editor mentioned the opening of a "New Varieties Theatre at 219 Main Street the night before with a crowded house." The statement continues as follows:³⁶

The bill was lengthy and varied, and the performance gave great satisfaction. Among the star performers are our old friends 'M'le Aubrey and O. C. Brace. One needs a pair of braces when listening to his funny peculiarities.

Probably the most important variety house in early Kansas City was the Walnut Street Theatre, which went by various names during its period of existence. Opening on January 23, 1871, as the Walnut Street Theatre with William Carroll as manager, it maintained a fairly large company during its first season, offering legitimate plays as well as general variety, acrobatic, minstrel, and gymnastic troupes, pantomime and special song and dance acts.³⁷ In November, 1872, it went into the hands of new management, and was renamed the People's Theatre. The local press under the heading, "New Theatre", reported that D. R. Allen, "a gentleman of many years' experience as a stage manager," had leased the theatres, and planned to remodel and repair it, and "to elevate the tone of the playhouse and make it into one of the best and most legitimate variety shows in the West."³⁸ The People's Theatre changed hands in February, 1873, and again in July, 1873. In March, 1874, it changed managers again and was renamed the Orpheum, opening with H. F. Schultz as business manager and H. Chapman as director of amusements. The following program was advertised:³⁹

³⁵ *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 9, 1868.

³⁶ *Daily Journal of Commerce*, March 26, 1869.

³⁷ During the late sixties emphasis upon variety entertainment and mixed programs increased in Kansas City, following a nation-wide trend. An English critic, George Henry Lewis, was quoted as saying: "Unless a frank recognition of this inevitable tendency causes decided separation of the drama, which aims at art, from those theatrical performances which aim only at amusement of a lower kind (just as classical music keeps aloof from all contact and all rivalry with comic songs and sentimental ballads), and unless this separation takes place in a decisive restriction of one or more theatres to the special performance of comedy and poetic drama, the final disappearance of the art is near at hand." Norman Hapgood, *The Stage in America, 1897-1900*, New York, 1901, 136. Kansas City answered the problem in 1869 by finishing the construction of an opera house in 1870, devoted almost exclusively to legitimate drama and higher type production. The real variety theatre growth took place in Kansas City after 1870.

³⁸ *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 30, 1872.

³⁹ *Ibid*, March 14, 1874.

Open each evening with a first class company of star artists. First appearance of Miss Lou Gregory, the charming Serio-Comic Vocalist; Miss Kathleen O'Neil, character Vocalist and Actress; Johnny Manning, the champion Clog Dancer; Miss Lizzie Shelton, the beautiful Danseuse, assisted by a talented company.

Throughout its era of existence this well known playhouse was well patronized and offered a comparatively high standard of variety entertainment in order to meet the competition furnished by the Coates Opera House and other places of entertainment. In this playhouse, as well as in other variety halls, a great deal of entertainment was offered to the public for a very nominal price. This factor, along with a broad general appeal, accounted for its popularity. The opening prices were thirty-five cents for general admission and fifty cents for reserved seats, while at the People's and Orpheum prices were increased to fifty cents for general admission and seventy-five cents for box seats. Some of the local reference plays presented that caused considerable comment were *Kansas City By Gaslight* on April 30 and May 1, 1871, and *The Streets of Kansas City* on May 22, 1872.⁴⁰

The Theatre Comique on Fourth Street between Main and Delaware was first mentioned in the press on July 22, 1872⁴¹ when it opened its first season with a "Mammoth Troupe from the East." The music, under the supervision of a Mr. T. Williams, was a featured part of the entertainment, and, according to the press report, "with the theatre fitted up in the most elegant and tasteful style, perfectly ventilated, they offer their patrons comfort and enjoyment unsurpassed by any like institution in the West."⁴² It was a straight variety house and did not attempt legitimate drama, often advertising under the title of the "largest Comique west of Chicago." Its programs followed a more or less set pattern. There were specialty changes every week, as well as a stock company, which changed every few months, furnishing part of the program. Replacements usually came from St. Louis or New Orleans.

Although the Comique was advertised as "a high toned and legitimate place of amusement" its audiences were predominately men and many of its press notices stated that it desired "patronage from

⁴⁰ Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce*, 1870-1874; Rietz, I, 37-38.

⁴¹ A notice concerning a playhouse called the Mechanic's Institute appeared in the press from time to time between 1871 and 1873, offering concerts, readings, lectures, and other mixed programs. Ole Bull, the great Norwegian violinist, presented a concert there on April 8, 1872.

⁴² *Western Journal of Commerce*, July 22, 1872.

only the male sex." It represented the so-called "free and easy" type of amusement place popular at that time in the East. Vendors loudly dispensed "Wine, Liquors and Cigars" during intermissions and there was much rough and ready conversation among the patrons regarding the female performers. The price of admission to the Comique was fifty cents on the main floor and twenty-five cents in the gallery. The theatre often advertised by having the band play before the door just prior to opening time, while a tight rope walker performed on a wire over the street without the precaution of a net below.⁴³

Wherever the Germans settled on the frontier they were interested in the theatre and in musical activities. In many western towns they organized theatres, made up largely of amateurs. The Turner societies were members of the American Turnerbund, whose purpose was "the cultivation of the perfect man physically and mentally." The German population was not large in Kansas City nor did it have an organized theatre there. Germans did, however, organize a Turner Society for the usual "health and social reasons" in 1858, first using a small frame building near Fifth Street and Main. They built a new hall in 1864 near Tenth and Main and in 1872 erected a larger building on Twelfth and Oak. The society was active in amateur theatricals and in musical programs, many of which were open to the public.⁴⁴

The press reports on the Kansas City theatre were much the same as in other frontier communities. The various theatrical troupes carried little advertising in the local press, and most of the information concerning these early thespians comes from news reports.⁴⁵ When the Tedge and Morrison Theatre Troupe was playing at the courthouse in the summer of 1858 the *Journal of Commerce* took the company to task for not being sufficiently interested in having its productions written up to give passes to reporters. The editor said he had been:

... indebted to friends for our theatrical notices since the present troupe has been in the city, and as he was absent last night, or according to a private notion of our mind, minus the 'four-bits', no notice of the play was

⁴³ Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce*, 1872-1875; Rietz, I, 38-41; Peck, 12-16.

⁴⁴ *Kansas City Star*, March 31, April 7, 1935.

⁴⁵ Other early theatres mentioned were the Fourth Street Varieties, the Kansas City Opera House on Delaware Street, the Olympic on Main Street, the Tivoli Garden on the south end of Main, and the Adelphi on the corner of Fourth and Walnut, the latter advertising at times as the Ladies Theatre. Rietz, I, 19, 33, 34, 47. Peck, 12-17.

handed in. The management would do well to hire a critic, as they seem to have an invincible repugnance to the admission of a member of the press.⁴⁶

Local press reports were largely tolerant and friendly, and only in a few instances were companies or actors criticised adversely.

In general these adverse comments arose from the fact that there were certain types of entertainment that even a western frontier community would not tolerate. Local opposition to dancing the Can-Can in a Kansas City burlesque or variety hall became so serious that late in December, 1869, a variety presentation being offered at Frank's Hall by L. A. Spaulding was closed by the police on moral grounds, since it violated a city ordinance against the exhibition of "lewd and vulgar entertainment" which included a requirement that "a female's limbs must be covered to below the knee." At the trial the next day Spaulding was fined \$75 and costs, although at a special called session of the town council the "indulgent city fathers" remitted the fine. That certain elements in the local population were not satisfied with the proceedings is evident when it is noted that early in January, 1870, the Spaulding show was again raided when the Can-Can was being offered, and the whole troupe arrested. A local editor reported on January 11, 1870, that Spaulding was fined \$16 and costs, for "Can-Canning without a license."⁴⁷

That the early Kansas City theatre audiences should consist largely of men is to be expected. Due in part to the predominance of men in a frontier community, and to the fact of the rough and crude character of such a population, few women attended the theatre. As late as 1868, the scarcity of feminine spectators at a performance at Frank's Hall brought the following comment from the press:⁴⁸

There was a fair audience in the hall last night, but not as 'fair' as we would like to see it. A female face dotted here and there in the audience like a pumpkin blossom in a cornfield wonderfully improves the appearance of the crowd, tones down the bearded lords of creation and brightens up the whole picture. The house last night sadly needed a few more roses among its bed of thorns.

There is evidence that women participated in amateur theatricals at Turner's Hall and possibly at Lockridge Hall in the early days.

⁴⁶ *Western Journal of Commerce*, June 22, 1858.

⁴⁷ *Western Journal of Commerce*, December, 29, 30, 1869; January 11, 1869. The insistence that lewd shows and exhibitions be eliminated came from other sources than the press, which did not appear to take the matter seriously.

⁴⁸ *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 13, 1868.

As a rule, at the variety halls, women were not wanted, and respectable women did not attend. In the early seventies there were several examples of certain playhouses using the title "Ladies Theatre" in an attempt to secure a mixed audience. In 1872, when D. R. Allen took over the Walnut Street Theatre and remodeled it, changing its name to the People's Theatre, he explained in the press that he planned "to elevate the tone" of the playhouse and make it into a "high class" establishment.⁴⁹

The Coates Opera House, opened in Kansas City in 1870, was regarded as a respectable place of amusement, and women began to attend regularly. From the beginning this house featured matinees for women and children. That women generally attended is indicated by suggestions printed by the management on programs, under the heading, "To Our Patrons."⁵⁰

In deference to the expressed wishes of many regular patrons of the Coates Opera House, including both men and women, the management respectfully asks that ladies remove their hats during the performance in this theatre. This request is not made in the spirit of a ruling, but as a favor, which, if granted, will bring equal benefit to all.

Although male audiences predominated in the early theatres in Kansas City, there seems to have been little serious disorder or interference in the various places of entertainment. There are occasional references to minor disturbances in the press, which were usually explained by the statement that the person or persons responsible for the trouble were drunk, and had been promptly removed from the building. Numerous statements are to be found in the press by various managers, promising the "preservation of strictest order." During the Civil War the following announcement was printed regarding a production at Long's Hall: "We understand" wrote the editor, "that the commander of the post has detailed a guard to be stationed there so the public may rely upon the strictest order being maintained."⁵¹ On July 29, 1863, the *Western Journal of Commerce* in a theatrical announcement stressed the point that "good order will be maintained in Long's Hall."

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⁴⁹ *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 30, 1872.

⁵⁰ *Kansas City Star*, March 31, April 7, 1935.

⁵¹ *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 20, 1863.

Morales Writes a Letter to Melgarejo

The letter reproduced below, besides being a sample of the orthography of a Bolivian *caudillo*, is interesting because of its contents as well as because of the historical importance enjoyed by its writer and addressee. Agustín Morales, classified by Alcides Arguedas as a *caudillo bárbaro*,¹ had endeavored in 1850 to assassinate President Manuel Isidoro Belzu, who was ruling Bolivia during one of its more anarchical periods.² In 1864 he was excluded from the congress because of the death sentence still hanging over his head as the aftermath of the attempted assassination. In his defense before the legislative body, Morales disclaimed any aspirations to the presidency, an ambition not long concealed. As a colonel he helped to put down uprisings against Melgarejo in 1865. Although he wrote the letter from Ecuador to his *amigo* Melgarejo in 1867, he organized a conspiracy against him in 1869 and in the following year launched the revolt which resulted in the overthrow of his former chief. As president from January 15, 1871, until November 27, 1872, he governed in a thoroughly deplorable fashion, dying on the last named date at the hands of his own nephew.

The legendary General Mariano Melgarejo, another "barbarian chieftain," was of a bold, brutal, and undisciplined nature, fond of gambling, women, and liquor.³ Angered by opposition, he would act like a homicidal maniac. Heading the forces which overthrew

¹ See Alcides Arguedas, *Historia general de Bolivia (1809-1921)*, La Paz, 1922, 140-141, 150-151, 223, 229, 241, 255, 291, 296-329 and *La dictadura y la anarquía*, Barcelona, 1926, 126-127, 176-177, 211-213, 279, 286-292; Enrique Finot, *Nueva historia de Bolivia*, Buenos Aires, 1946, 260, 278-283; Alcibiades Guzmán, *Libertad o despotismo en Bolivia: El antimelgarejismo después de Melgarejo*, La Paz, 285-293.

² N. Andrew N. Cleven, *The Political Organization of Bolivia*, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1940, 120-121, states: "The history of the presidency of Bolivia contains a large number of tragedies. Of the twenty-five presidents between 1825 and 1925, two resigned voluntarily, three died while in office, nine were forced to resign, eight were assassinated, but not all while in office, and four died in exile."

³ On Melgarejo, see Arguedas, *Historia general*, 166, 227, 232, 244-246, 251-295 and *La dictadura*, 24-25, 228-229, 251, 303-304, 322-326; Finot, 265-279; Guzmán, 178-281; Cleven, 118-121; Charles E. Chapman, "Melgarejo of Bolivia: An Illustration of Spanish American Dictatorships," *The Pacific Historical Review*, 1939, VIII, 37-45. Typical of the many books confounding facts and fiction in the story of this legendary figure is Tomás O'Connor D'Arlach's *El General Melgarejo: Dichos y hechos de este hombre célebre*, La Paz, 1947.

Achá's government (1864), he converted himself into the tyrannical master of Bolivia from December 28, 1864, until January 15, 1871. An ignorant man of little notion of government and exceedingly cruel while in an intoxicated state, his early life consisted of a series of treasons and felonies. His administration with no political program and with his constitution of 1868 as a tool for his dictatorial ambitions, faced, from the very outset, tough opposition from Belzu, who occupied the capital, La Paz, in 1865.⁴ When the battle for this city took on a desperate character, Melgarejo penetrated into the palace where he shot in cold blood his rival for the presidency. He convoked the congress for the first time four years after instituting his personal government. His disastrous foreign policy caused Bolivia to lose an immense territory to Brazil. He made compulsory loans, debased the coinage, and plundered the Indians. In short, corruption was rampant, and the general only succeeded in retaining his power for six years by keeping his army constantly on the march to crush incipient rebellions. Driven from his native land by the revolution directed by Morales, Melgarejo met his death in Peru, assassinated by his mistress' brother.

The letter discloses that Morales, apparently to his great displeasure, finds himself relegated to a minor post in Guayaquil, Ecuador, probably in the capacity of consul. Melgarejo had undoubtedly appointed him to a far off post for the purpose of removing him from Bolivia, in this way forestalling conspiracies. He begins his letter by assuring Melgarejo that he is acting in good faith and by invoking justice on the part of the Bolivian president and government. Furthermore, he rather pointedly inquires if Melgarejo yet places confidence in the talebearers, thus adroitly conveying the impression that these were the persons directly responsible for his presence in Guayaquil, where he was needless either for commercial reasons or for serving Bolivians residing there. His few countrymen who had lived there in the past had succumbed to yellow fever, a plague that desolated that unhappy port, thereby bringing all business to a standstill and causing the other foreign consular employees to flee.⁵

⁴ Cleven, 114-167, in his chapter on "The National Government: The Executive," has an enormous number of details on the many Bolivian constitutions and the executives who sponsored them.

⁵ Guayaquil continued with the unsavory reputation of being a pest hole for yellow fever until 1920. See Angel F. Rojas, *La novela ecuatoriana*, Colección Tierra Firme, México, 1948, 93. Understanding the character of Melgarejo one might readily suspect his ulterior intention in sending Morales to a well established center of pestilence, where previous "visitors" from Bolivia were known to have died of the fever.

Regarding political conditions in Ecuador, Morales gives an accurate though succinct account, adding several details not found in the Ecuadorian histories consulted. President Jerónimo Carrión y Palacio,⁶ chosen personally by Gabriel García Moreno as his successor to the high office, served from September 7, 1865, to November 6, 1867, that is, eighteen days beyond the date of Morales' letter pointing to grievous trouble ahead. An inept politician, Carrión had unwittingly incurred the opposition of both the liberal and conservative parties by vesting his authority in the person of his prime minister, Dr. Manuel Bustamante. The latter, of a domineering and haughty nature, grasped within his hands the two portfolios of the treasury and internal and foreign affairs, refused to take directions from the party leader, García Moreno, and soon by his arbitrary acts motivated an open conflict with the congress. He ordered the arrest of several of its members, expecting by this step to prevent any retaliatory measures through lack of a quorum vote. This body on October 3, 1867, declared itself in permanent session, refusing to capitulate even though soldiers surrounded the palace and entered the legislative chambers. The following day Bustamante's resignation was read to the congress, which soon began consideration of the accusations that the former minister had violated the constitution in various ways.

Morales indicates that by October 20, Carrión was in complete disagreement with the congress, which was then accusing the chief executive of violation of the constitution. He had sent a battalion to dissolve the assembly. The president on his part had been angered by the congress for declaring itself in permanent session. After ordering the battalion to retire he drew up an official decree declaring the congress in recess. But his minister of war, General Ignacio de Veintemilla,⁷ refused to sign the decree, and the gov-

⁶ J. L. R., *Historia de la República del Ecuador*, Quito, 1925, II, 256-261, 275-290; Pedro Moncayo, *El Ecuador de 1825 a 1875*, segunda edición, Quito, 1907, 299-300, 302-309; Oscar Efrén Reyes, *Breve historia general del Ecuador*, tercera edición, Quito, 1949, 458; Luis Robalino Dávila, *Orígenes del Ecuador de hoy: García Moreno*, Quito, 1949, 303-305, 310-311; Manuel Gálvez, *Vida de don Gabriel García Moreno*, segunda edición, Buenos Aires, 1942, 265-267, 279-301; Roberto Agramonte y Pichardo, *Bio-grafía del dictador García Moreno*, La Habana, 1935, 147-150.

⁷ The congressional report of General Ignacio de Veintemilla's behavior makes no mention of his refusal to sign the decree. It discloses, however, that the night of October 3, the minister of war brought a message in the name of the government offering to withdraw the troops on the following day—provided the congressmen adjourned their permanent session—and not to apprehend them while they were leaving or returning to the legislative halls. He, also at the demand to remove the troops immediately so that the congress could give due deliberation to the proposal,

ernor of Quito would not allow it to be published.⁸ Then it was that Bustamante resigned and Veintemilla was named to the vacant cabinet office, retaining, likewise, his post as minister of war. Without giving the exact dates, Morales states that Carrión, thinking the congress mollified, within twenty-four hours dismissed Veintemilla and the governor of Quito and designated García Moreno⁹ as commander-in-chief and constituted his entire cabinet of García Moreno adherents.¹⁰ This act added fuel to the fire, for not long before the congress had refused to admit García Moreno as the deputy from the Province of Quito, or Pichincha, not Cuenca as stated by Morales. The congress and the president were lying in wait for

communicated with the chief executive, being authorized after a short interval to comply with their request. On transmitting Bustamante's resignation, Veintemilla announced that the president had named him as temporary minister of internal and foreign affairs. See Moncayo, 305-306. In 1876 Veintemilla headed a rebellion, overthrowing the ruling government and taking over as chief. A constitutional assembly legalized his power in 1878. National reaction against his desire to perpetuate himself in office brought about his expulsion from the country in 1883 after a bloody civil war. One of those whom Veintemilla banished from Ecuador was the famous writer Juan Montalvo who breathes contempt and hatred in his *Las catilinarias* for this "Presidente de los siete vicios." See Efrén Reyes, 478-484.

⁸ D. Manuel Tobar was the governor of Pichincha, who refused to proclaim the dissolution of the congress, preferring instead to hand in his resignation. See J. L. R., 282, 284.

⁹ García Moreno was in Guayaquil at the same time as was Morales, but there is no indication of a meeting between the two. For accounts—some of a contradictory nature and obviously colored by personal prejudices—of this extraordinary leader's defeat in his race for the senate, see Moncayo, 307-309; J. L. R., II, 277-279; Robalino Dávila, 309-310; Gálvez, 295-297, 300; Agramonte y Pichardo, 71. When mention is made of Gabriel García Moreno (1821-1875) one inevitably thinks of Juan Montalvo, his implacable enemy, who was accustomed to lash García Moreno in the bitter articles of his journal, *El Cosmopolita*. Montalvo is said to have remarked on receiving word of García Moreno's assassination: "Mi pluma lo mató!" Another Ecuadorian literary figure, Juan León Mera, a friend of the dictator, manifests in his posthumous, incomplete book, *García Moreno*, Quito, 1904, 211-242, boundless admiration for his hero, attributing to him a very exemplary youth enriched by study and scientific investigations. The general opinion of his rule as given by historians of the United States is more balanced, as, for instance, A. Curtis Wilgus, *The Development of Hispanic America*, New York, 1941, 495, who states: "On the whole, however, the manifold reforms of Moreno were beneficial and wise, although he often accomplished his aims by arbitrary means." Charles Edward Chapman, *Republican Hispanic America*, New York, 1937, 387-388, calls him "the most remarkable figure in Ecuadorian history," and says in summary: "Resisting his opponents, he became a typical caudillo in his tyranny and despotism, though one of the noblest and most admirable of all the Hispanic American caudillos."

¹⁰ Dr. Rafael Carvajal was named minister of internal and foreign affairs; Colonel Manuel de Ascásubi, minister of war and navy; and General Bernardo Dávalos, minister of the treasury. All three were intimate friends of García Moreno; cf. J. L. R., II, 285.

one another, the former maintaining its accusation of unconstitutionality and the latter threatening to dissolve by force the recalcitrant law-making body. García Moreno bitterly rejected the appointment.

None of the historians consulted give these details, probably no more than rumors, concerning the appointment of García Moreno and his refusal to serve; the ex-president, and president again to be, was in Guayaquil during the whole month of October. By November 4 rumors were circulating that Carrión was seeking to make a deal with the opposition, agreeing to appoint new chiefs and to change the personnel of his recently organized cabinet, all three adherents of García Moreno, and, in brief, to deliver the administrative power to the enemy for the sake of remaining in office. November 5 the cabinet and other high officials resigned and the congress, in a resolution worded in very censorious language, reproved the president's conduct. Unable to carry on longer and faced by probable disaffection of the army, Carrión resigned his office the following day.

When Morales left the troubled scene in Ecuador for a more troubled scene in his native Bolivia is not certain. His letter, formerly an item in the collection of documents belonging to Don Isaac Tamayo, was generously given to the writer by his grandson, Jaime Caballero Tamayo, a friend acquired while in La Paz on a visiting lectureship granted by our Department of State.¹¹

Morales' numerous orthographical mistakes—confusing *c* for *s*, *s* for *z* or *c*, and *b* for *v*; suppression of one of two like vowels (*remplaso*) and *s* before a consonant; omission of *b* or its addition where it is not required; division of words into smaller units (*toda via, des en lace, etc.*) and incorrect writing of the names Veintemilla and Bustamante—together with his errors in syntax—evidence the lamentable state of secondary instruction in the Bolivia of his youth. A product of the barracks, he evidently had spent little time in reading, much too occupied in his conspiracies.

¹¹ Don Isaac Tamayo, father of the distinguished Bolivian poet, Franz Tamayo, occupied as a young man an unimportant position in the Melgarejo government, and, during that turbulent epoch, doubtlessly came into possession of the Morales letter. In 1914 Don Isaac published under the pseudonym Thajmara a book, *Habla Melgarejo*, composed of that deceased *caudillo's* supposed opinions—all conveyed in a spiritualistic séance—relative to his regime, laws, finance, diplomacy, the Indian, pedagogy, and other social problems peculiar to Bolivia.

Guayaquil, Octubre 20 de 1867.

Exmo. Señor Capitán Jral. Presidente Dn. Mariano Meljarejo

Mi Presidente y amigo:

Estoy en Guayaquil. He echo con V. E. lo último que puede hacer un caballero, para manifestar que respeta su palabra. V. E. creherá toda vía a los chismosos? Yo inboco la justicia de V. E. y la del Gobierno.

Nada tengo que hacer aquí. Nunca se hizo comercio para Bolivia en Guayaquil y difícil es que puedan recidir Bolivianos en heste temperamento. Los pocos que avían, ya no existen, pues la fiebre amarilla hasola este país en el que, momento por momento, se espera un saludo de la fiebre i para los de la tierra es de último adiós.

Comercio, agricultura—todo, todo está en sus penso. Nadie sale ni entra por el orror a la fiebre; nadie piensa sino en el momento de que de uno disponga.

Todos los cónsules i empleados extranjeros habían emigrado, sólo yo quedo/(p. 2) aquí por que hací me lo a ordenado V. E.

El orden público en hesta nación no hestá tranquilo, el Congreso i el Gobierno hestán en completo des a cuerdo: el primero acusó al Ejecutivo por infracción de la Constitución, éste ha su bes mandó un Batallón a disolverlo. El Congreso sigió sus discusiones en sección permanente, haciendo saber al Gobierno que estaban dispuestos a morir en sus acientos i que bajo de hese conocimiento obre. Recibido el mensaje, mandó retirar el Batallón i hagto continuo publicó un decreto poniendo al Congreso en reseso. El Ministro de la Grra. Jral. Beintemillas se negó firmar el decreto, el Gobernador de Quito de hacerlo publicar.

En tal estado de cosas renuncia la cartera el Ministro Bustamente, autor esclucido del des acuerdo. Admitida por el Presidente i que dando en remplaso el Jral. Beintemillas y con el mismo cargo del Ministerio de la Grra., se creyeron los del Congreso satisfechos. Cuando a las 24 horas resulta nombrado Comandante en Jefe García Moreno i un Ministerio completo de los más siegos adeptos de éste i destituídos Beintemillas, el Gobernador de Quito, y sobre el Congreso las furias de Gar-/(p. 3) cía Moreno, que fué rechasado por el Congreso como Diputado que hés por la Provincia de Cuenca.

Congreso y Gobierno están en hasecho, García Moreno a rechazado (sic) con acritud el nombre miento. El Presidente Carrión se pro-

pone disolver el Congreso por la fuerza; éste continúa con la acusación. En pocos días más se conoscerá el desenlace.

Que V. E. disfrute de salud, son los más fervientes deseos de su amigo. S. S. Agn. Morales.

* * * *

Guayaquil, October 20, 1867

Mariano Melgarejo
Most Excellent Captain General and President

My dear president and friend:

I am in Guayaquil. I have done for your Excellency the utmost a gentleman can do in order to show that he keeps his word. Can your Excellency still believe in the talebearers? I invoke the justice of your Excellency and that of the government.

I have nothing to do here. Never was there any trade for Bolivia in Guayaquil and it is difficult for Bolivians to reside in this climate. The few that there were no longer exist, since yellow fever devastates this country in which one expects momentarily a greeting from the fever and for those of this earth that means a final good-bye.

Trade, agriculture—everything, everything is suspended. No one departs nor enters through horror of the fever; no one thinks except of the moment of which he disposes.

All the consuls and foreign employees have emigrated, only I remain/ (p. 2) here because your Excellency has ordered it so.

The public order is not calm in this nation, the congress and the government being in complete disagreement: the first mentioned has accused the chief executive of violation of the constitution, the latter, for his part, has ordered a battalion to dissolve it. The congress continued its discussions in a permanent session, advising the government that they were ready to die in their seats and that it proceed with this knowledge. Upon receipt of the message, [the chief executive] ordered the battalion withdrawn and immediately afterward issued a decree declaring the congress in recess. The minister of war, General Beintemillas refused to sign the decree and the governor of Quito to have it published.

In such a state of affairs, the minister Bustamente, exclusive perpetrator of the discord, resigned his office. With the acceptance of this resignation and the appointment in his place of General Beintemillas to the post of minister of war, the president believed that the members of congress would be satisfied. Then within twenty-four hours García Moreno was named commander-in-chief, the entire cabinet was constituted of the latter's most unwavering followers, Beintemillas and the governor of Quito were dismissed from office, and the congress remained subject to the rage of García/ (p. 3) Moreno, who had been rejected by the congress as deputy from the Province of Cuenca.

The congress and government are lying in wait, García Moreno has gruffly rejected the appointment. President Carrión proposes to dissolve the congress by force; the latter maintains its accusation. The outcome will be known in a few days.

That your Excellency may enjoy good health is the vehement desire of your friend and servant. Agustín Morales.

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Book Reviews

Lincoln Finds a General, A Military Study of the Civil War. By Kenneth P. Williams. 2 vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 810, illustrations, maps. \$12.50.

No one even faintly familiar with the Civil War needs to be told that the general whom Lincoln finally found was U. S. Grant. The reader of these two volumes should be warned, however, that Lincoln does not come to the end of his search until the very last page. Here, instead, is the story of the war in the East during the three-year period when Grant was maturing. Presumably Grant's own story, from 1861 until he took over the command of the Federal armies, as well as the events of 1864-65, will be the subject of forthcoming volumes.

Mr. Williams, a professor of mathematics to whom the history of the Civil War has long been a consuming interest, has shaped his narrative with certain crucial questions in mind: "How had Lincoln dealt with his other generals? Had he treated them fairly and given them adequate opportunities to display their capacities as commanders? Did he act hastily in changing them, or—judged from modern standards—patiently and leniently?"

The answers to these questions are implicit, though as clear as if they were specifically formulated. Of all the major commanders in the East—McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker—only Pope got something less than a fair trial, and for that public opinion was more responsible than Abraham Lincoln.

In many instances Williams' conclusions are at variance with currently accepted estimates. Ever since the Battle of Bull Run military historians have criticized Robert Patterson for his failure to keep Joe Johnston from joining Beauregard, but Williams places the real responsibility on Scott for careless and confusing orders. At Williams' hands, John E. Wool comes out a fine old veteran whose services have been consistently undervalued. John Pope was a better soldier than his numerous critics have indicated—he obeyed orders (as some of his fellow officers did not), he was aggressive, he handled large bodies of troops capably. It was his misfortune never to have an opportunity to retrieve the mistakes he made in his first great battle. Even Burnside had good qualities, though he was temperamentally incapable of bearing the tremendous responsibility that the commander of an army locked in battle cannot evade.

But the verdicts that will infuriate some critics—that have, in fact, already infuriated a goodly number—are those that concern McClellan and Lee.

To say that Williams is completely unimpressed by recent efforts to picture McClellan as a great commander who was thwarted by a blundering President is understatement. The indictment is too long, too detailed, to recapitulate, but his final estimate is expressed in three biting sentences: "McClellan was not a real general. McClellan was not even a disciplined,

truthful soldier. McClellan was merely an attractive but vain and unstable man, with considerable military knowledge, who sat a horse well and wanted to be President."

Lee, on the other hand, was a great general. But—and this is lese majesty—he was not infallible. He was guilty, more often than not, of issuing vague and confusing orders, he tolerated more insubordination than he should have suffered, he had no unusual ability to divine the movements of his adversaries, he had his periods of indecision, he was often just plain lucky. Of Gettysburg, the turning point of his career, Williams writes: "Because he was the attacker . . . and won local temporary successes, efforts to conjure up a possible decisive victory for him have persisted with great vigor. That they should have reposed so largely upon unjust charges against the able generals who led his corps in hopeless tasks, and who received such vague and imperfect orders, is an unhappy thought to contemplate."

"It would seem that every possible excuse has been put forward to explain Lee's failure at Gettysburg," Williams continues. "But the real explanation can be given in three words: the Union army." Those three words explain more than Lee's defeat: they are the key to Williams' entire study. His basic assumption is the somewhat quaint one that the North won the Civil War—significantly, he calls the conflict by that name rather than by some such misnomer as "The War Between the States"—and that it did it by superior military power.

Williams' work is based on the main on *The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. The historian who relies on this enormous compilation for accounts of what actually happened will be led astray by the special pleading and incomplete knowledge of the officers who wrote battle reports, but Williams avoids this trap by using it principally for the orders and information upon which commanders acted in given situations. The result is military history that is interesting, illuminating, and provocative.

This book is certain to offend many readers. On occasion the author passes judgments in an ex cathedra manner that other close students will find irritating, his criticism of well known authorities will pierce some thin skins, proponents of commanders other than his own favorites will go after his scalp, and to the champions of Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, and Southern arms generally he will be anathema. But for years to come his work will have to be taken into careful consideration by all students of the Civil War.

PAUL M. ANGLE

Chicago Historical Society.

Slavonic Encyclopedia. Edited by Joseph S. Rousek, Ph.D. Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1949. Pp. ix, 1445.

General interest in the Slavic countries and peoples has been magnified since World War II. The need for knowing with greater accuracy and detail the contribution of the Slavs to the progress of mankind is, therefore, more pressing now than it has been at any time before. Dr. Rousek and his collaborators have attempted along these encyclopedic lines to foster

a better understanding of the Slavic world in students, scholars, and the average man. It is suggested in the preface that this volume represents the first attempt to present in encyclopedic form a book of information on Slavdom in Europe and in the United States. That it should have fallen far short of other more famous models in various fields of Slavic learning, compiled by outstanding Slavic scholars from all parts of Europe, is not particularly remarkable when one considers the manifold difficulties inherent in the very nature of such an undertaking. These difficulties of the editor can be partially appreciated when one notes the treatment of the Ukraine as subordinated to that of Russia, Croatia and Slovenia as sub-topics of Jugoslavia, and Slovakia as a sub-topic of Czechoslovakia, thus taking cognizance of the many divisions of the Slavic peoples.

"Pan-Slavism," explains the editor, in his Preface "is one of the great ideological dynamics of the Slavonic world today," but the necessities of the case required that it be treated "from the empiric and non-evaluating point of view." Since the Editorial Board has insisted upon a descriptive, empirical and scientific approach, it is much to be regretted that in many instances it has lost sight of this highly ambitious policy. The importance of some Slavic peoples is emphasized all out of proportion to others. By reason of this fact, the work cannot be said to be well balanced.

If one were to catalog all of the omissions, mistakes and inconsistencies, this review would itself take on the proportions of an encyclopedia. Consequently only a few are here selected as illustrative of the over-all deficiencies of the present volume. From the viewpoint of balanced and scientific treatment it is difficult to understand why a little known Hollywood actress should merit 42 lines of description mainly because she refused to "Heil Hitler" and was runner-up to Sonja Henie in the 1936 Olympics, whereas Archbishop Alojs Stepinac, whose stand against totalitarianism was certainly no less firm or heroic, receives little more than half that space. The Editor himself receives no less than 65 lines while Franc Miklosic is dismissed with six words—"the greatest philologist of the 19C". Bartholomeus Kopitar is mentioned as a Serb philologist, whereas he was a Slovenian. Boskovic, a great scientist in the study of the atom, is also designated as a Serb. The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, professing no specialization in Slavic matters, refers to him as one of the foremost Serbo-Croat scientific writers. Born at Ragusa, Dalmatia, so the account runs in *Britannica*, in his fifteenth year he entered the Society of Jesus. However, no mention either of his place of birth or religious affiliation is made in the *Slavonic Encyclopedia*. Confronted with such a deliberate omission, one opines whether the editor regarded these facts as too unimportant for mention. The withholding of salient information is as detrimental to the scientific and objective pretensions of such a work as the distortion or inaccurate presentation of facts.

Instances of inaccurate presentation are not lacking. In the first sentence of the article on the Rev. Anton Korochetz, the subject is described as "a heavy-set priest of the Jesuit Order . . ."; it is also considered of importance to note that he "died on December 14, 1940 of apoplexy at the age of 68." The pertinence of these facts is difficult to discern. Whether his corpulence or his varied political activities brought on the apoplexy may seem unimportant from the scientific point of view, but it should be ob-

served for purposes of historical accuracy that his death is not to be charged to the diet served in Jesuit refectories, if for no other reason than that Koroshetz never was a member of the Jesuit order. There is no excuse for such errors of fact.

The article on the "Slavs" is written with little taste and even less understanding by some Englishman who writes presumably under a pseudonym. While he pretends to know everything there is to know about the Slavs, he can find nothing to say about the Slovenes except that "nothing is known of them." Similarly, the Slovaks are shabbily treated as a sort of Cinderella to the intellectually superior and more progressive Czech. To attribute by innuendo this alleged backwardness to religious considerations is to discount completely certain factors which must be considered in any "scientific" treatment of the subject. The treatment of Catholicism is far from objective or even friendly. Some writers display a definite anti-Catholic bias. An encyclopedia should approach subjects of this kind with care and with a desire to minimize areas of controversy. Polemics has no place in a work which is to be dignified by the title "encyclopedia."

Since considerable space, all out of proportion to their relative importance, has been allotted to recent Communist leaders who occupy positions of power behind "the Iron Curtain," it is not unreasonable to expect that more space should have been devoted to prominent Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgars who really contributed something to the history, literature, culture and scientific development of their people. The Communist ascendancy is but a small, sad chapter in the long history of the Slavic peoples. If Communism and European masonry merit so much attention, there is no reason why at least equal consideration could not be devoted to the past unless, by implication, all achievements are to be made to commence with the present Communist dictatorships. After all is said, both Communism and masonry were never truly Slavic in origin, but importations of nations which entertained ambitions to rule the Slavs.

The literature of Yugoslavia is treated as a unified whole. Such treatment is not only impossible, but downright confusing. The *Freisinger Fragments* are mentioned in connection with Sts. Cyril and Methodius. There is no historical connection whatsoever. Neither were they first written in Glagolitic, but appeared in a German kind of Latin (Gothic) and were partially written by a German priest who wished merely to memorize and rewrite some Slavic prayers.

The only space devoted to the laws and judicature of Yugoslavia is exclusively concerned with the new setup under the present regime. While such treatment may conceivably be of interest to the student of the present, nothing is said of the old codes under which Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia have been governed for centuries. Thirteen lines are devoted to the Code of Vinedol, but not one word about the Code of Dushan or Polijce, or the civil law adapted to Slavonic needs. Names of recent writers of international prominence in Jurisprudence—men like Peric, Jovanovic, Pitamic, and Koroshec—do not even rate mention.

On the subject of music, which can properly be said to reflect the emotions and aspirations of any racial or national group, the reader is told that "the Slavs consider music as one of the greatest gifts of God." How-

ever, in the treatment of national folk music, composers and artists, the accounts in general are so poorly conceived and written, so vitiated by editorial blunders and prejudices as to hold but little interest for the serious student of Slavic music. Thus, for example, the life and work of Modeste Moussorgsky, perhaps Russia's greatest composer of nationalistic music, is treated in two separate and distinct articles, neither one of any significant length, one appearing under MOUSSORGSKY, the other under MUSSORGSKY. Such a blunder might be overlooked were it not for the fact that the biographies of composers and artists in general are inadequate insofar as factual detail is concerned, yet many are cluttered with pointless anecdotes of questionable veracity.

There are numerous and unpardonable mistakes in geography; only a few may be cited here. Carniola is placed in Slavonia, whereas even the most superficial student of Yugoslavia will tell you without hesitation that it is in Slovenia. Krs. should be Kras. Starodrevno Seo is placed in the Dravska Banovina, but cannot be found in this province. Gustanj and not Gustank is in Slovenia. There is a Topusko and not a Soposko and it is located not in Slovenia where the Encyclopedia erroneously places it, but in Croatia. Furthermore, there is nothing either very scientific or particularly revealing in the discovery that the same word is used for "beer" from Prague to Vladivostok and from Murmansk to the shores of the Adriatic.

The reviewer read with a sense of pride under the subject of "Slavs in the United States" that the Czechs are "the most virile people of the slavonic race," conscious that some of his blood can be traceable to Czech ancestry. However, when he recalled that another part of it derives from another branch of the Slavonic race, he found he was at war with himself. This type of writing bears all the earmarks of the excessive and misdirected patriotism which characterized the writings of those who sought to spread the myth of Nordic superiority. It is hardly the objective treatment expected of a work of this type and, what is more, it is certainly not conducive to a better cultural understanding among Slavic groups.

JOHN A. ZVETINA

Loyola University, Chicago

J. L. M. CURRY. By Jessie Pearl Rice. King's Crown Press, Columbia University, New York, 1949. Pp. 242. \$3.50.

If you still think that fame is lasting, the reading of this book will perhaps correct your misapprehension. Few Americans of today have ever heard of J. L. M. Curry, although he was one of the most important leaders in the South from 1865 to 1900. His correspondence extends through twenty-four large bound volumes; he collected comments on his works and speeches and filled a half dozen very large scrap books with them; articles and addresses fill several more large books; he published several books; he helped found the Southern Historical Association and served as its President for several years; he served as our Minister to Spain, 1885-1888; he was a very power-

ful influence in directing the work of the Peabody Fund from 1881 until his death in 1903. Yet his name seldom appears in books now being written about the post-war South. He seems to be the "forgotten man" in southern history.

Jessie Pearl Rice has done much to rescue Mr. Curry from an undeserved oblivion. Born in 1825 in Georgia, Jabez Lafayette (later Lamar, a family name was substituted) Monroe Curry was educated first in the South and later went to Harvard, where he received his law degree in 1845. From law he entered politics and served in the Alabama legislature. In 1857 he was elected to Congress, and gave his first speech in the House in February 1858. On November 26, 1860 he advocated secession because of his fear of what the "Black Republican Party, sectional and hostile," would do to the South he loved.

He served in the Confederate Congress and saw some non-military service with the Army. Following the war he became a college president and a Baptist minister, and subsequently became very interested in the education of the Negro, as the long tenure with the Peabody Fund would indicate. He accepted the defeat of 1865 philosophically, although he always maintained that the South had acted constitutionally in trying to leave the Union. His contribution to the nation as a whole, from 1865 to 1903, was really an impressive one, and he richly deserved this excellent account of his life.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By Henry J. Browne. Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1949. Pp. 415. \$4.50.

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The Knights of Labor seem to interest more undergraduate and graduate history students than any other labor organization. Possibly it is the name; then again it may be that queerest of all labor leaders, Terence V. Powderly. Possibly, too, it is the fact that Cardinal Gibbons became very much concerned about the Knights, and apparently saved them from being condemned as a "secret society" by the Catholic Church. Father Henry J. Browne, in volume XXXVIII of the Catholic University Studies in American Church History, edited by Father John Tracy Ellis, has written with a detachment seldom employed by those writing about labor unions. He has presented a rather complete account of the attitude of the clergy and hierarchy toward labor unions in the 1880's. Father Browne has made clear that at times this was a friendly attitude; at other times it was decidedly hostile. He has made Powderly even more understandable than Powderly's own book *Thirty Years of Labor and The Path I Trod* made him.

Elected Grand Master Workman of the K. of L. in 1879, Powderly, a Catholic, was only too well aware that many Catholic priests and bishops considered the Knights similar in secrecy to the Masons, and therefore op-

posed them. In 1881, one of Powderly's lieutenants reported: "The greatest curse to our Order seems to be the priests" (p. 58). Powderly was unable by his own efforts to change drastically any provision of the K. of L. in order to reconcile the Catholic conscience and naturally he could alter no ecclesiastical law relating to secret societies. Meanwhile, the Knights were being refused the sacraments of the Catholic Church in some cities simply because of membership in the Order (p. 59). Powderly and his associates maintained that secrecy was necessary if the Order were to succeed in its fight against capitalistic opposition, and he further manifested a willingness to submit all rituals to the Catholic hierarchy so that the latter could convince themselves that the Order was not irreligious in its objectives.

The struggle was destined to be a long one and Father Browne has traced it meticulously. Even though Powderly maintained that the "oath" had been supplanted by a "promise" on January 1, 1882, priests and bishops still opposed the Order (pp. 63-75 *passim*). Mine operators in 1882 tried to get Archbishop Gibbons to remove Father Valentine Schmitt, who was friendly to the miners, many of whom were Knights, at Eckhart, Maryland, but failed (pp. 80-81). However, in the same year, Knights were refused Christian burial in Columbus, Ohio, because of membership in the Order (p. 82). Early in 1883 it seemed quite likely that the Order was to be opposed very openly in Philadelphia and in Chicago by the Church authorities in those two Sees (p. 85). The Reverend John J. O'Reilly of Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania "went so far as to declare if the Pope ever approved the Order he would 'fling off the vestments,'" but about the same time Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee manifested a friendly attitude toward the Knights (pp. 134-136 *passim*).

These conflicting attitudes were symptomatic of the conflicting opinions held concerning the K. of L. Some priests and bishops, aware of the anti-religious attitude found among many "liberal" groups feared trade unions as such; other priests and bishops believed that hostility toward laboring men by church leaders would drive many Catholics out of the church. Among the latter group of churchmen was Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore. Despite an apparent unfriendliness shown toward the K. of L. by Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec, Archbishop Gibbons successfully used his influence in 1887 with the Holy Office at Rome to prevent any condemnation of the K. of L. Powderly rather effusively thanked Cardinal Gibbons on June 30, 1887, for the consideration shown the K. of L. Father Browne observes that this letter did not appear later in Powderly's autobiography. Probably that is explained by the fact that Powderly became a Mason in 1901 and evidently remained one until his death in 1924. No book could justify its title more than this richly documented study of the relationship between labor and the Church in nineteenth century America.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

A History of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 619. \$7.00.

Clement Eaton, Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, educated at the University of North Carolina and Harvard, whose teaching career has carried him to various parts of the United States, is eminently fitted to write an impartial history of the Old South. Passing over, in large part, materials formerly used in the writing of Southern history, he has depended principally upon sources recently uncovered by American scholarship, especially Southern, such as manuscripts, diaries, newspapers, family papers, slave records, and travel accounts. Out of these he has woven a fabric which ultimately portrays the South of 1860 as an incipient nation differing from the rest of the country in regard to political philosophy, its way of life, its set of values, and its views of morality, especially the morality of slavery. The book is devoted to an account of how and why a particular Southern civilization and national feeling came into being.

Dr. Eaton traces the roots of sectionalism to colonial times and to the debates over the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The virulent growth of this sectionalism, he points out, did not take place, however, until after the Missouri controversy and the rise of the abolitionists. Thereafter, the North and the South became increasingly conscious of their peculiar economic, political, social and moral interests. The quarrel over the extension of slavery into the territories brought this divergence of points of view to a climax, and the traditional Anglo-Saxon practice of fair compromise being finally abandoned, led to secession and the clash of arms.

The average scholarly reader of today is familiar with the generally accepted interpretation of the role of the South in pre-Civil War American history. This interpretation follows neither the theses of the nationalist and anti-slavery historians nor those of the Southern extremists. Insofar as Dr. Eaton follows this moderate, well-beaten path, he presents nothing startling. However, several chapters emphasize and summarize materials not as yet found in the average text. Such chapters are, "The Creoles Become Southerners," "The Two-Party System of the Old South," "Commerce in the Old South," "The Progress of Southern Manufactures," "Molding of the Southern Mind," and "The Chrysalis Stage of Southern Culture." Especially good is the chapter, "The Social Pyramid, 1850-60," which repeats the oft-told story of the aristocrat and the "poor white," but places particular emphasis on the role of the neglected Southern yeoman, the "forgotten man."

The author has especial talent for character delineations. Such Southerners as John Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, Andrew Jackson, and John C. Calhoun are treated in detail, not only as national figures but also as men who had great influence on the course of Southern development. John Taylor of Carolina, Wm. Lowndes Yancey, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and Edmund Ruffin, among others, are described as more strictly Southern sectionalists.

One of the features which makes this particular work "live" is the author's ability to interpret events of the past in terms of present-day prob-

lems. He compares the debates over the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the present debates over the strengthening of the United Nations government, and refers to the former as "the Great Rehearsal" for the acceptance of a world federation. He draws a striking parallel between the problem of the state veto (Nullification Controversy, 1832) and the similar question facing the Council of the United Nations. Also, he shows that there is a notable resemblance between the Jeffersonian administration and the "New Deal" of the decades of the 1930's.

The book has new, though well-supported interpretations, only a few of which can be mentioned. The state tariff barriers of the Confederation Period, the author points out, were not directed against other states but against Great Britain. The economic and educational retardation of the South he attributes to its "dominant ruralism . . . , the westward movement, and the presence of the Negroes in large numbers . . . , irrespective of the institution of slavery." Especially worthy of note is his reference to the "poor whites" as "stranded frontiersmen," "the victim of their isolated environment." He defends the course of President Buchanan in 1860 as an attempt "to create a political atmosphere favorable to compromise and adjustment." The failure of the nation to find a compromise in 1860, he says, "must be shared by Congress, the Southern extremists, and President-elect Lincoln." And finally, he speaks of the South's attempt to establish its independence as being "a part of the romantic nationalism of the mid-nineteenth century which was agitating Europe."

In only a few instances is Dr. Eaton guilty of carelessness. Apparently following the Reverend B. Stevens, author of the *History of Georgia*, and the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, he refers to Christian Priber, an Indian agent, as a Jesuit. There is no record of a Jesuit or any other missionary of that name in the North, West, or South. Also, the author makes the direct and somewhat all-inclusive statement that Jackson's Specie Circular was responsible for the Panic of 1837. In view of other factors of both a national and international nature, this seems to be an over-simplification. And finally, he says that "these gentlemen [Buchanan, Soulé, and Mason], . . . had a conference at the Belgian seaside resort of Ostend and drew up the notorious Ostend Manifesto." The responsibility for this "arrogant imperialism" he places upon the three diplomats rather than upon Secretary of State William L. Marcy, where it more rightfully belongs. In this instance, Dr. Eaton seems to be perpetuating an old anti-slavery interpretation. Recent scholarship has revealed that the document was not a "manifesto" but was a confidential dispatch to the State Department, and was not drawn up at Ostend but at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Despite these limited criticisms, *A History of the Old South* is welcomed as a noteworthy addition to scholarly achievement in the field of Southern history. As a comprehensive and fair account, it fills a void which has long existed and has been keenly felt. It can be perused by the casual reader with pleasure, and it provides for the student a rich store of carefully selected and evaluated information.

KENNETH M. JACKSON

Loyola University, Chicago

Brazilian Culture, An Introduction to the Study of Culture In Brazil. By Fernando de Azevedo. Translated by William Rex Crawford. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950. Pp. xxix, 562. Illustrated. \$12.50.

This is indeed a very weighty tome. The text runs roughly to three hundred and forty thousand words. It requires eighteen pages to list the four hundred and eighteen illustrations, which add some two hundred unnumbered pages. There is a name and a subject index. The type is a bit larger than that before you, but the lines are five inches across, certainly too wide and too close to each other for comfortable reading. However, the whole is very well worth the effort and price.

Dr. Fernando de Azevedo, long renowned in Brazil for his studies in education, sociology, and literature, and as an exponent of educational reform since the coming of Getulio Vargas in 1930, received Brazil's highest literary award in 1943, chiefly for the publication of this book in Portuguese. Dr. William Rex Crawford was equally well equipped to present a translation that does justice to the involved style of the author. From a literary viewpoint the result before us is a remarkable example of a style which verges on the classical. Its long, balanced sentences incorporate from one period to the next all qualifying phrases or distinctions of the main thought. Folk of the United States and folk of Brazil will not get very far into this work, considering the present tendency toward digests and toward skipping long sentences and unusual words. For those to whom the elaborate and polished sentence is a lost art, the pictures and chapter outlines will suffice. The publishers have gone to an amazing expense to print pictures illustrating every phase of Brazilian life and culture—its art, architecture, painting, printing, sculpture, its urban, pastoral, and wild life, its crafts and industries; moreover, there are good photographs of the men whose genius, philosophies, and religion have brought Brazil to its present cultural status.

The work appeals as a cultured scholar's presentation of the intellectually enriching elements of Brazilian society as they have been assessed by past generations of Brazilian thinkers. It is professedly a synthesis designed to describe the evolution of the Brazilian way of life and to estimate its present progress and problems. In his introduction Dr. de Azevedo defines his meaning of culture and civilization, drawing largely on European, especially French and German, sources for his citations. Rarely afterward does he command other authorities than the Brazilian. There is nothing startling in the content of his introductory essay, but the manner of presenting cultural aims in eloquent sentences, and the nuances of thought are unusual.

The synthesis, the book, is divided into three parts of five chapters each. The chapters in Part I explain the controlling factors of culture in Brazil: the land, the people, the work, the development of city life, the social and political evolution, and the concluding summary on the psychology of the people. The extraordinary realism with which Brazilians face and have faced the many problems growing out of these elements is abundantly clear in the chapters. One fundamental obstacle to progress, while indi-

cated, does not receive the stress due to its importance. This is the lack of sound health in the society. The predominant physical afflictions could well have been used to explain cultural and industrial deficiencies and educational problems. Each of the factors are evaluated from their early colonial origins according to the periods of Brazilian history, and, as is the case throughout the book, much factual data, statistical, biographical, and topical, appear in the footnotes. The more striking ideas appear in the passages explaining the work of the Jesuits in fashioning Brazilian culture and in passages tracing deep-rooted institutions, as, for example: "The chapel . . . served . . . as a point of fixation . . . The life of the region centered on it." (p. 73, n. 5). Again, the sentence: "Of all the social institutions, it is the family that shows greatest solidarity and cohesion . . ." (p. 129, n. 9), begins a fine estimate of the domestic ideals of Brazilians.

Part II analyzes the culture of the Brazilians, showing in order their religious institutions and beliefs, their intellectual life in the liberal professions, their literary life, their science and art. The approach to the vast religious question is liberal and sympathetic. The impact of the early Catholic missionary impact upon the primitive fetishism and upon the cults of incoming African slaves was not destructive of all of the traditional customs of the Indians and Negroes. The confounding status of Catholics in Masonic lodges is presented as typical of Brazilian liberalism. The last section is an illuminating survey of the origins and progress of the Protestant denominations and their educational programs. Once more the earlier writers and renowned native scholars are called upon as sources as each appeared in the epic of Brazil's development, whether Jesuit or miner, poet or trader, engineer or educator. This part is remarkably well conceived and completed.

The third part, nearly half of the book, is given over to the author's special interest—education, wherein he becomes a source, particularly in the period of the reforms in the public system beginning with the advent of Getulio Vargas. De Azevedo's role in this program of modernization is important since his first cry for reorientation in 1928. Here he is most eloquent and most enthusiastic. Here he makes his greatest contribution. He has explained the cultural programs and educational methods of the past; they were suitable for their day; but by 1928 they, like Brazil's monocultural and industrial systems were obsolete. With the Vargas revolution of 1930 the opportunity for educational reform presented itself, and Dr. de Azevedo traces the long history of his debates and researches, and opposing opinions on educational aims and procedures, from 1930 to the end of 1942. He does not carry his work beyond 1942, and thus leaves some pages to be written about the outcome of the national educational program under the Novo Stado through the war years and the new administration.

The author was an exponent of the New State policies in education, but wavered somewhat with the Vargas declaration of the authoritarian state in 1937 and the trend toward complete federal control. Accepting the basic principles of the New State that "Brazil is the Brazilians," "it is the duty of man to work," and that it is the duty of the State to develop the "whole man" and thereby train him to take a healthy part in the national occupations, the author finds himself in the prevalent and conventional educational pickle: the democratization of education versus the aristocratization,

the local and private versus federal controls. With federal aid, feeble though it be financially, primary and secondary education might be spread over a greater number of students, how abundantly or thinly is not clear. Yet this widening of opportunities might entail the loss of freedom in teaching content, since the national government would control the aims and issue the directives. State schools, city schools and private institutions would remain without voice, while at the same time suffer a double tax on their finance, that is, for their own upkeep and for that of the national schools.

Apart from this fundamental issue of the authority to educate, Dr. de Azevedo offers many stimulating and challenging pages in these last chapters, while indicating his wide comprehension of the state of education in Europe and in the United States and his own efforts toward the adaptation of ideals, aims, contents, pedagogics, policies, budgeting, inspections, statistical checks, and teacher training programs of other countries to the Brazilian scene and temperament. His book is now happily more available to students of this country than it was in the original Portuguese. It makes available a plentiful amount of past and present thought of Brazilians and of source materials. We can recommend it to a wide audience.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Institute of Jesuit History

Notes and Comments

Professor Mody C. Boatright of the University of Texas, who already has several volumes of folklore to his credit, has collected some of the most humorous stories circulated in the west, and has unified them by his own interesting comments. The resulting volume, *Folk Laughter on the American Frontier*, has been published by Macmillan Company for three dollars, and it is well worth the price. Certain chapter titles indicate the nature of the contents: "Manners and Men," "The Art of Tall Lying," "Backwoods Belles," and "Free Speech." A rather extensive list of books for additional reading is given at the end of each chapter. Most readers will find themselves introduced to what is practically a new and very interesting field by this very interesting book prepared by Dr. Boatright.

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Certainly one of the more unusual books recently published by the University of California Press is the one by Richard O. Cummings, entitled *The American Ice Harvests*. We who today take the mechanical refrigerator for granted will learn much that is interesting from this book, outlining as it does the efforts that Americans made to provide themselves and others with ice before Frigidaire became a household word. There is considerable information about the icehouses of Massachusetts, because business men in that state made efforts to provide the southern states, the West Indies, and even California with natural ice. Icehouses holding as much as forty thousand tons of ice were used; ships were built for carrying ice around Cape Horn to California in the 1850's. Interesting material is also given concerning the early refrigerator cars, and the first attempts to produce ice by machine methods. A series of pertinent appendices and a well prepared index increase the value of this book, priced at three dollars.—P. K.

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The Middle American Research Institute of the Tulane University is to be congratulated on the publication of the excellent monograph: *Rusticatio Mexicana*. This was written in elegant Latin hexameter verse by Father Raphael Landivar, S.J., (1731-

1793), and first published at Bonn in 1782. Landivar was born in Guatemala and exiled from his native land with all of the Jesuits in 1768. Living in Bologna his memory ever went back to Guatemala. He describes the glories of his homeland in poetic cantos: its lakes, its animals, its people and culture, mining and the art of processing silver and gold, sugar refining, indigo extraction, in fine, his people in their industrial and intellectual pursuits.

The translation by Grdon W. Regenos is very well done. So too is the editorial work and indexing by Robert Wauchope. All the cantos have excellent notes to help clear up more difficult passages. The monograph has value for the historian for its many details and it might well serve as a text in Latin classes which are willing to accept its challenge to better study and production.—James Mertz.

* * * *

The Paradox of Oscar Wilde, by George Woodcock, (The Macmillan Company, 1950) is really a series of essays woven together by the author's aim: to resolve apparent contradictions in Wilde's life, writings, and thought. These contradictions the author explains by judging that "Wilde's nature was of a schizoid type" (p. 4). Such contradictions as "playboy and prophet," "the snob and the social revolutionary," and "paganism and Christianity" in Wilde are discussed. Mr. Woodcock is very sympathetic to Wilde in both his life and his work and appreciates the desire his subject had for complete liberty and free individualism. The chapter on "Paganism and Christianity"—the longest in the book—will certainly not satisfy any orthodox Christian, since the author manifests no understanding of true Christianity. The book would be more impressive if references were given for statements quoted from Wilde, Pater, *et al.* An index and bibliography would also increase the value of the book.—Norman Weyand.

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Now we have available, and needed on every reference shelf, *The Lincoln Encyclopedia*, The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln Arranged for Ready Reference, Compiled and Edited by Archer H. Shaw, with an Introduction by David C. Mearns, Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress, published by The Macmillan Company, listed at six and one half dollars. Mr. Shaw has spent his

retirement days from newspaper work diligently arranging over five thousand words and phrases, names and topics used by Abraham Lincoln and printed in the Tandy edition of *Lincoln's Complete Works* and by the later editors of newly found utterances. Lincoln's statement on each of the items is given with a reference to its source. These, printed in ten inch pages of two columns each, make the *Encyclopedia* 395 pages in length. The cross-references are an additional finding apparatus. Mr. Shaw will receive the blessings of writers, newsmen, orators, debaters, students, and scholars. The whole idea is not just good—it is fascinating. The book may be picked up for reading at any page, or utilized to track down from numerous sayings the complete thought of the Emancipator on any one subject. *The Lincoln Encyclopedia* is a fine means to save hours and to use hours.

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Dr. Ruth Lapham Butler, custodian of the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, now has in page proof *The Guide to the Hispanic American Historical Review 1918-1945*, which she is editing for publication by Duke University Press. This will be indispensable as an aid to efficient finding of articles and documents in the first twenty-five volumes of the HAHR. As soon as an estimate of the number of copies needed is made, the presses will roll. This may be ordered sight unseen in view of Dr. Butler's known carefulness of detail and utility.

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The fact that religion was taught in the various American colonies is so well known as to be beyond comment. Precisely how the religious instruction was organized and imparted has been considered a simple detail which might likewise be taken for granted. But Father Fernand Porter, O.F.M. thought that the entire institution of catechetical instruction as it persisted through two centuries in the Catholic parishes of Canada was worthy of study. He presented his findings in 1949 in *L'Institution Catechistique au Canada Français 1633-1833*, published by Les Editions Franciscaines, Montreal, in 332 pages with illustrations, at the list price of two dollars and a half.

The book is clearly organized and presented in a scholarly manner, with illustrative samples of documents and a happy usage of

modern educational and psychological terminology. In the first part, "The Formation of the Teachers," the training process of catechetical instructors according to the legislation of the Council of Trent, is clearly revealed. The second part describes the instruction books used, methods of presentation, and auxiliary aids for the parish priests, parents, and other instructors in both French and English Canada. The third part explains the functioning of the catechetical program in homes and churches. The fourth part is an evaluation of the institution from the viewpoints of psychology, pedagogy, church law, family life, sociology, and adult and child education. Father Porter has done an excellent work in thus describing the system of Christian education in vogue for so long and apparently the basis of the staunch religious character of Canada's present inhabitants.

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Every Inch a King, a biography of Dom Pedro I, the first emperor of Brazil, by Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, was translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam and published this year by The Macmillan Company. It is a dramatic rather than definitive biography, stressing the well-worn topic of the love life of the notorious Braganza monarch, who ruled Brazil during nine years of its political "measles age" after independence in 1822 and died at the age of thirty-six in Portugal. From reasons presented in this book, and from common historical knowledge of his deeds, the right of Dom Pedro to be classified as "every inch a king" is still far from established. What is clear is the fact that Pedro, by reason of his emotionalism, was not equipped from a political, moral, or economic standpoint to rule any people. The author lauds him beyond all desert for his "liberalism" and palliates his libertinism. Pedro's liberalism consisted in giving lip service to the constitutions, to the Catholic Church beliefs, and to the tenets of Masonry, all at the same time, and he met the inevitable consequences of divided allegiances. His decisions were generally those of emotion and expediency, behind which was his general attitude that "the king could do no wrong." His failures in his domestic, governmental, and military life remain monumental, despite the present glamorizing. The book, while it is not scholarly or "much needed," is mildly entertaining as chit-chat about soured absolutists and enlightened liberals of the time. It omits bothersome footnote citations and most of the exact dates of events, including the birthday of Pedro.

From Brasil come the last three volumes, the seventh, eighth and ninth, of Serafim Leite's *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, published by the Instituto Nacional do Livro, Rio de Janeiro. Volume VII has to do with the internal government of the Jesuits of Brasil to the time of their suppression by the Portuguese crown in 1759. Only the last section traces the process of the suppression and exile of the Black Robes. The space given to this resounding event is far too little. Perhaps some day when there is no longer danger of hurting feelings, someone will present the true reasons for the various quashings of the Society of Jesus.

The last two volumes are a veritable bibliographical treasury. Exclusive of the bibliographical introductions and the documentary appendices, these contain a total of 762 pages listing the Jesuit writers of Brasil during the 210 years of their existence there in colonial times, with the available biographical data for each. This is a notable conclusion to a great work by Father Leite.

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South Dakota Historical Collections and Report, Volume XXIV, 1949, compiled by the State Historical Society of South Dakota, contains eight articles, three of which take up more than one hundred pages. These are: "Minnesela Days," by Joe Koller, "The Early and Territorial History of Codington County," by Wright Tarbell, and "Report on Historic Sites in the Fort Randall Reservoir Area," by Merrill J. Mattes. These and the other articles are of noteworthy value as local and state history. They have the flavor of the West in pioneer days and are records suitable for preservation. They are interesting to read, although marred by numerous minor printing mistakes.

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Abside, a review of Mexican culture, suffered a great loss with the passing from this world of the Reverend Dr. Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, its founder and editor, on December 16, 1949. He was in his forty-fourth year and had just completed the editorial work on the thirteenth volume of the quarterly. Our expressions of regret go out to *Abside* over its loss, and our expressions of encouragement go to Dr. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, the new editor.